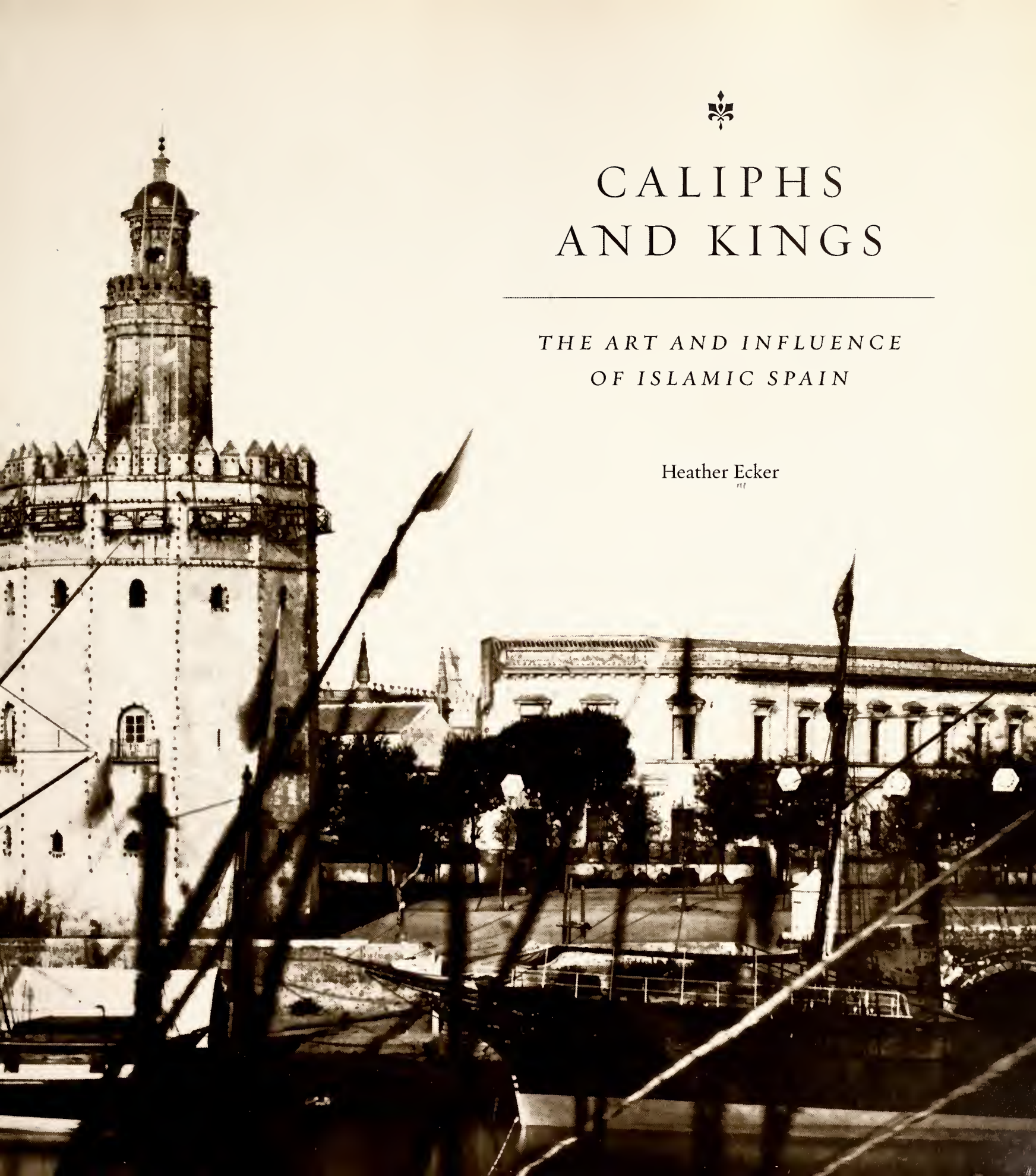
CAUTIONS AND WARNINGS

· CALIPHS AND KINGS ·

SELECTIONS FROM THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, NEW YORK

ARTHUR M. SACKLER GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, NEW YORK



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THE ART AND INFLUENCE OF ISLAMIC SPAIN

Heather Ecker

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PREFACE

HRH Princess Hala al-Faisal, President, Board of Trustees
The Mosaic Foundation

In 756, 'Abd al-Rahman, an Arab prince from Damascus, became governor of the Iberian Peninsula, the westernmost province of the Islamic world, thereby decisively changing the direction of European history and culture.

The years between the eighth and fifteenth centuries were unquestionably a period of collaborative and productive interaction of different cultural and religious viewpoints. The artistic, scientific, and philosophical accomplishments of that period were instrumental in leading the rest of Europe toward the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. Intellectual pursuits, largely unfettered by intolerance and ignorance, were allowed to flourish within a very diverse society. Treasures from al-Andalus remain today: the poetry of 'Abd al-Rahman, Ibn 'Arabi, and Samuel the Nagid; the philosophical work of Averroes and Maimonides; and the architecture of the Alhambra and the Great Mosque of Córdoba.

The 2004 Al-Andalus Festival, in which this exhibition plays a central role, is the Mosaic Foundation's attempt to bring about a better awareness and appreciation of the interweaving of the historic, artistic, and intellectual cultures of the Arab and the Western worlds. It is our hope that the legacy of *Caliphs and Kings: The Art and Influence of Islamic Spain* will be a positive contribution to constructing bridges of understanding between the past and the future and between all men and women of goodwill.

The Mosaic Foundation, an American charitable and educational organization located in Washington, D.C., is a collaborative effort of the spouses of the ambassadors of each Arab country with representatives in the United States. The foundation strives to improve the lives of women and children throughout the world and to increase understanding between the peoples of the Arab world and the United States through donations to community, national, and international organizations.

We are most grateful to the Hispanic Society of America, under the leadership of director Mitchell Codding, for agreeing to this first-time-ever loan from their outstanding collection of treasures from al-Andalus; to Lawrence M. Small, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and Dr. Julian Raby, director of the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, for making this exhibition possible; to Dr. Heather Ecker, who as guest curator took on the tasks of assembling the exhibition and authoring the catalogue; and to María Rosa Menocal, whose recent fascinating history of Andalusian Spain, *Ornament of the World,* has inspired the entire 2004 Mosaic Al-Andalus Festival.

And, of course, we wish to express our sincerest thanks to the following national and international corporations for their generous support of our Al-Andalus Festival.

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Mosaic

FOREWORD

Mitchell Codding, *Director*
The Hispanic Society of America

As part of the celebrations commemorating the centennial of the founding of the Hispanic Society of America, we are pleased to collaborate with the Smithsonian Institution's Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in presenting the splendid exhibition *Caliphs and Kings: The Art and Influence of Islamic Spain.* In many ways this is an exhibition of firsts. Not only are numerous objects on view to the public here for the first time, but this also marks the first time that any of these treasures have been exhibited outside the galleries of the Hispanic Society in New York City.

Since its founding in May 1904 by the American scholar and philanthropist Archer M. Huntington (1870–1955), the Hispanic Society has promoted the study of the rich artistic and cultural traditions of Spain and its area of influence in the Americas and throughout the world. The collections of the Hispanic Society are unparalleled in their scope and quality outside the Iberian Peninsula, addressing nearly every aspect of culture in Spain, as well as Portugal, Latin America, and the Philippines. Unique in concept one hundred years ago, the Hispanic Society today continues to distinguish itself as the preeminent museum and library of Hispanic culture in the United States.

This exhibition serves as a fitting tribute to the great intellect and vision of the Hispanic Society's founder, for Spain's Islamic heritage was among Huntington's earliest fields of study as he developed plans for the "Spanish Museum." In preparation for his first trip to Spain, Huntington devoted most of 1891 to the study of Arabic Islamic history and literature, which he believed were essential "for a better understanding of Spanish and the Spaniard." The same year he wrote with delight to his father of an Arabic manuscript that he had acquired at auction for ten dollars, having been the sole bidder. At the relatively young age of twenty-one he proudly noted in his diary that he believed he had already amassed the finest Arabic library in America.

The friends and contacts that Huntington made on his trips to Spain over the years proved invaluable in the formation of the Hispanic Society's collections. In 1902 he acquired an important collection of Hispano-Arabic coins from Francisco Codera y Zaidín, Arabic scholar and author of the fundamental work on the Islamic coinage of Spain. At least one of the coins from Codera's collection, the gold dinar from Madinat al-Zahra' (cat. no. 14), is included in the present exhibition. From the noted historian and archaeologist José Gestoso y Pérez, Huntington purchased in 1904 the tenth-century marble capitals and column base (cat. nos. 1, 9, and 10). A group of Muslim tombstones from Almería, including the one exhibited here (cat. no. 30), were obtained with the assistance of one of his closest friends in Spain, Guillermo Joaquín de Osma y Scull, count of Valencia de Don Juan, himself a renowned collector of the arts of Islamic Spain and founder of the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan. Huntington's long friendship with the painter Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta, the brother-in-law of the famed Orientalist artist and collector Mariano Fortuny Marsal, yielded numerous treasures for the collections, such as the thirteenth-century silk fragment from the tombs of the Infante Felipe and his wife Leonor Ruiz de Castro at Villalcázar de Sirga (cat. no. 37), and the exceptional "Alhambra" silk (cat. no. 42), discovered by Baron Jean Charles Davillier in a Spanish convent.

Huntington's almost annual trips to London and Paris frequently resulted in major acquisitions from familiar dealers. In 1906 alone Huntington purchased dozens of pieces of lusterware from the Paris galleries of N. Stora, Jacques Seligmann, and Etienne Bourgey. The exquisite tenth-century ivory pyxis made by Khalaf at Madinat

Main room of the Hispanic Society of America, by architect Charles Pratt Huntington (1874–1918).
Founded by Archer Milton Huntington (1870–1955), the Hispanic Society of America first opened its doors to the public in 1908.
[illegible] to the museum [illegible] opened from the [illegible] to the public,
[illegible] Gilmore Ellis, [illegible] the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

al-Zahra' (cat. no. 18) was purchased in London in 1914 from Lionel Harris' Spanish Art Gallery, which also was the source for a significant number of pieces of lusterware in the collection. In the same year, Huntington purchased Juan Vespucci's mappamundi of 1526 (cat. no. 88) from the London antiquarian bookseller Bernard Quaritch. Associates at home too served as Huntington's agents in their travels through Europe. Dr. Richard Gottheil, chair of Semitic languages at Columbia University and noted Syriac studies scholar, was instrumental in securing the spectacular illuminated Hebrew Bible (cat. no. 60) from a European collector.

By the end of World War I Huntington was effectively finished as a collector, feeling that he already had amassed sufficient examples to present a broad survey of Hispanic culture. Looking back we can only marvel at Huntington's accomplishments. In the span of little more than two decades this remarkable individual succeeded in forming one of the world's great collections of Hispanic art and literature, and the finest collection of the decorative arts from Islamic Spain to be found in the Americas.

The Hispanic Society wishes to express its sincere thanks to all the staff of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, particularly to its director, Julian Raby, and the exhibition's curator, Heather Ecker, for realizing such a spectacular exhibition in commemoration of our centennial. We are also indebted to the Mosaic Foundation for their outstanding support of the exhibition. Finally we must acknowledge the contributions of the Hispanic Society's staff—with special thanks to curators John O'Neill, Margaret Connors McQuade, and Constancio del Álamo, along with conservators Monica Katz, Michelle Nanni, and Nello Nanni—for their diligent labors in preparing the works for the centennial exhibition.

DIRECTOR'S FOREWORD

Julian Raby, *Director*
Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

In the eight hundred years between its inception in 711 and its political defeat in 1492, al-Andalus, as the areas of the Iberian Peninsula under Islamic control became known, enjoyed one of the most sophisticated of cultures—in the intellectual, scientific, and artistic spheres. Cities such as Madinat al-Zahra', Córdoba, Granada, and Seville flourished into vibrant urban centers, ushering in a period of tremendous creativity. Patronage for Muslim and Morisco craftsmen, however, did not cease with the fall of Granada but continued long after the last Muslim political entities disappeared from Spain. Both the Christian kings of Spain and the church remained enthusiastic supporters of these artists and craftsmen, who contributed significantly to the development of a distinct artistic language until the late sixteenth century.

Caliphs and Kings: The Art and Influence of Islamic Spain celebrates both the cultural diversity and artistic achievements of al-Andalus and its influence on contemporary Christian and Jewish cultures. It explores the creative interaction between artists and patrons, who transcended social, religious, and political boundaries to forge one of the most enduring and powerful traditions in the history of Islamic art and culture. While centered in the Iberian Peninsula, the impact of these creative interchanges extended well beyond its geographic borders: the portable, luxury arts, especially ceramics and textiles, were exported from Spain throughout the Mediterranean, and al-Andalus' intellectual and scientific culture found its way north to the rest of Europe through the translation of texts from Arabic into Latin and other Western languages.

The exhibition and accompanying catalogue are also a celebration of the Hispanic Society of America, a remarkable institution dedicated to the arts of Spain, founded by Archer Huntington in 1904. Indeed, this is the first time that the society's Islamic holdings have been extensively published, let alone exhibited together, and the first time that this splendid collection has been exhibited in the United States outside of New York. The celebration is appropriate as 2004 marks the centenary anniversary of the Hispanic Society of America. The Sackler gallery is particularly pleased to host the first exhibition devoted to the arts of the western Islamic world in Washington, D.C.

Neither the exhibition nor the catalogue would have happened if it had not been for the interest and determination of the Mosaic Foundation, which decided to make al-Andalus the focal theme of its program this year. The Sackler gallery is hugely indebted to the members of the foundation, in particular HRH Princess Haifa al-Faisal, for their vision and generous support for this project. Dr. Mitchell Codding of the Hispanic Society responded to the proposal with great enthusiasm and excitement. His erudition, patience, and invaluable assistance throughout the exhibition's conceptualization and implementation transformed what was originally envisaged as a modest lunch into a rich and festive banquet. The staff at the Hispanic Society matched Dr. Codding's commitment at every step, and we are deeply grateful for all their cooperation and help. Dr. Michael Bates of the American Numismatic Society also deserves our special thanks for helping with the loan of an important group of coins, as do David DeVorkin at the Smithsonian's American History Museum and Peggy Kidwell at the Air and Space Museum for arranging the loan of two exceptional astrolabes. I would also like to thank the staff of the Freer and Sackler galleries for their tireless efforts toward this project. Finally, congratulations are due to Heather Ecker, who took on the task of pulling the show and the catalogue together in little more than six months. Few people could have brought to the enterprise her mix of scholarship and insight.

AUTHOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This exhibition would have been impossible without the support and hard work of many individuals.

First, I would like to thank the trustees of the Mosaic Foundation, Washington, D.C., for their vision and support of this exhibition: HRH Princess Haifa al-Faisal, Malea Abdel Rahman, Rim Abboud, Awatef al-Dafa, Nermin Fahmy, Zohor Jazairy, Sheikha Mariam al-Khalifa, Amina Farah Olhaye, Luma Kawar, Sheikha Rima al-Sabah, Jamila Ouls Michel, Maria Felice Mekouar, Howaida Ahmed, Faika Atallah, Maryam al-Dhahri, Nevine Hassouna, Karima al-Balushi and Ebtisam Alshawkani, and Heidi Shoup, executive director of the foundation.

At the Hispanic Society of America, New York, many thanks are due to Mitchell Codding, Constancio del Álamo, Margaret Connors McQuade, Monica Katz, John O'Neill, Patrick Lenaghan, Mencía Figueroa Villota, Marcus Burke, and all the staff for their splendid hospitality and help throughout the process of imagining this exhibition and catalogue.

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At the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., my "home" institution, I have a karmic debt to Julian Raby, Massumeh Farhad, Tom Lentz, Debra Diamond, Domenic Savini, Angela Jerardi, RoseMaría Henry, Marjan Adib, Katie Ziglar, Jane Norman, Ellen Chase, Paul Jett, Elizabeth Duley, Becky Gregson, Bruce Young, Rocky Korr, Susan Kitsoulis, Karen Sasaki, Nancy Hacskaylo, Cheryl Sobas, Annie Lundsten, Amy Lewis, Carol Huh, Jodi Rodgers, John Tsantes, Neil Greentree, David Hogge, Reiko Yoshimura, Kathryn Phillips, Mitzi Harp, Edward Boyd, Lynne Shaner, Kate Lydon, Mariah Keller, Rachel Faulise, Barbara Kram, Brenda Tabor, John Gordy, Carson Herrington and her staff, Lisa Hsueh, and the noble members of the security staff, my faithful, midnight companions.

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Last but not least, I owe heartfelt thanks to my family, friends, and colleagues who have contributed in many different ways to the succes of this project, most especially to Judith Lipsey, Louise Harpel, William Ecker, Lorna Raby, Esperanza Alfonso, Ruba Kana'an, Rachid El Hour Amro, Mercedes García-Arenal, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, Cristina de la Puente, Joaquín Bustamante Costa, Mariam Rosser-Owen, Nicole Kekeh, Anne Regourd, and Muhammad Zakariya.

CONTEMPLATE MY BEAUTY

Perceptions of al-Andalus and the Arts

Heather Ecker

Al-Andalus (Islamic Spain), like no other region of the Islamic world, present or historical, evokes and has evoked a nostalgic perception of a lost paradise. This view is shared by many Jews, Muslims, and Christians inside and outside of Spain, for whom al-Andalus represents a model of cultural and religious tolerance, intellectual endeavor and artistic excellence, and its disappearance a tragic loss.[1] However, for others, al-Andalus represents an aberration in the continuum of an eternal history from the Roman-Visigothic past to contemporary Spain.[2] These two perceptions have their roots in a debate between liberals and conservatives that can be traced back to eighteenth-century Spain, and perhaps earlier; they are the flip side of the same currency, the coin of idealization versus damnation. That such a debate should still linger, and that these positions should still be defended, is a measure, perhaps, of how al-Andalus continues to be a metaphor for present realities, and of the nature of the passions that it still evokes in global imaginations.

While it may be useful to analyze these views as perceptions that have arisen, or rather, have been resurrected occasionally in certain political contexts internal and external to the Iberian Peninsula, they are not particularly useful points of departure for understanding medieval history. The debate survives largely in the context of popular and political culture, and not among Arabists and Hebraists, who have distanced themselves in the last twenty years from such partisan passions. Andalusi society was not the only region in the medieval Islamic world notable for its tolerance, plurality, and intellectual and artistic production; its political history—like that of most regions, medieval and contemporary—is a long catalogue of war, betrayal and compromise interspersed with a few enlightened moments. What made al-Andalus unique was the construction of a culturally sophisticated, wealthy, and powerful Islamic empire in the most western part of Europe, and secondarily, its role in the creation and transmission of high Arabic culture to Western Christendom and Jewry.

This essay will examine perceptions of al-Andalus, of Islam in Christian Spain and of the arts from the medieval period to the near present. It does not pretend to be exhaustive—an impossible, and not even desirable, task in the context of an introductory essay to an exhibition catalogue—but rather will try to show how perceptions changed and were shaped by historical and political contexts. It will focus on some selected periods that are particularly rich in terms of the recording of perceptions—

FIG. 1. *[illegible]*
From Alexandre Labo[illegible], Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne, 1812

sometimes ephemeral in literary and documentary sources—and will incorporate some material from the collection of the Hispanic Society of America, the generous lender to this exhibition. Perceptions are not static, but fluid, and subject to influences beyond the individual viewer. Within the compressed narrative of this essay, it is hoped a story will emerge that is less compressed than that of an eternal Spain, or of a hermetic al-Andalus.

MEDIEVAL ANDALUSI PERCEPTIONS

One might blame the Andalusis themselves for the genesis of the perception that their country was an earthly paradise. The eleventh-century geographer Abu 'Ubayd al-Bakri wrote, "Al-Andalus is like Syria for its enjoyable climate and its air, like Yemen for its moderate and consistent temperature, like India for its penetrating perfumes, like Ahwaz (Khuzistan) for the importance of its agricultural income, like China for its precious stones, and like Aden for the useful products of its coast." The best of all worlds, according to al-Bakri, al-Andalus was notable for its fertility, good climate, and natural resources. Ibn Khafaja (450–533/1058–1139), a poet from the region of Valencia, wrote more extravagantly, "O, inhabitants of al-Andalus, what happiness is yours having waters, shade, rivers and trees / The Garden of Eternal Happiness is not without, but rather within your territory; if I had to choose, this is the place that I would settle on / Do not think that tomorrow, you will go to Hell; one does not enter into the Inferno after being in Paradise!"[3]

A different genre of poetry, generally referred to as *ubi sunt* (where are?), fed the paradisiacal imagination of later generations with regard to the beauties and pleasures of the palaces and cities of al-Andalus. It is a type of poetry that is concerned with loss and nostalgia for the past, and has its roots in the earliest form of Arabic poetry, the *qasida*, that contains prescribed descriptions of the abandoned campfires of the beloved. In the early taifa period in al-Andalus (1031–94), after the fall of the Umayyad caliphate, poets were obsessed with descriptions of the ruined palace city of the Umayyads, Madinat al-Zahra'. For example, Ibn Zaidun (394–463/1003–71) wrote famously, "In al-Zahra' I remembered you with yearning before the lovely landscape and the limpid face of the land. / The evening breeze languished, as though it sympathized with my plight. / The garden smiled through its silvery water, which seemed necklaces that kissed the firmness of breasts. / It was a day like our sensual days of long ago, when we robbed pleasures from the night while Destiny slept...."[4] While it is unlikely that Madinat al-Zahra' was the real setting of Ibn Zaidun's love affair, as he was only a child when it was destroyed, this rather personal poem uses the metaphor of the ruined city of al-Zahra' as the epitome of lovely places, like failed love affairs, that are now lost. Curiously, as we shall see, the poet seems to refer to a royal object, an ivory pyxis made at Madinat al-Zahra' for the caliph al-Hakam II, and thus indirectly evokes the wealth, prestige and tastes of the doomed Umayyad caliphate.

Some of these poems of loss and nostalgia were also composed in response to the Christian conquest of cities. A poem attributed to Ibn Khafaja on the ephemeral conquest of Valencia by the Cid (1095) says, "Swords have wrought ruin in you, oh dwellings, your beauties were wiped out by fire and decay: / When one looks at you, over and over again, one's thoughts are stirred, one weeps and weeps!"[5] Perhaps the best known and most poignant of these *ubi sunt* poems is an elegy to a lost al-Andalus by Salih Abu 'l-Baqa' al-Sharif al-Rundi (d. 1285), written after the major thirteenth-century Christian conquests that occupied all of al-Andalus outside of the kingdom of Granada. The most emotive part of the poem says, "The evil eye has struck [the peninsula] in its Islam so that it decreased until vast regions and districts were despoiled of [Islam] / So, ask Valencia what became of Murcía, and where is Játiva and where is Jaén? / Where is Córdoba, the seat of the sciences, and how many scholars of high repute remain there? /

Where is Seville and the pleasures it contains, as well as its sweet river overflowing and brimful with water? / [They are] capitals that were the pillars of the land, yet when pillars are gone, it may no longer endure! / The tap of the white ablution fount weeps in despair, like a passionate lover weeping at the departure of the beloved / over dwellings emptied of Islam that were first vacated and now are inhabited by unbelief; / In which mosques have become churches wherein only bells and crosses may be found. / Even the mihrabs weep though they are made of cold stone; even the minbars sing dirges though made of wood!"[6] The shift in discourse from mourning a true ruin like Madinat al-Zahra' to mourning not a ruin, but the loss of political power and a way of life is evident in al-Rundi's elegy. Córdoba, Seville, and the other cities mentioned in the poem, of course, still existed and would later have both Mudéjar (Muslims living under Christian rule) and Morisco (Muslims converted to Catholicism) populations who would contribute to their built environments and cultures, and yet the discourse of a lost paradise predominates and would continue to resonate in perceptions of al-Andalus beyond the peninsula.

The Speaking Object: Poetic Perceptions of Beauty in the Arts

Poets also extended paradisiacal perceptions of beauty and fertility to man-made objects in al-Andalus. Objects, humble and noble, were embellished with autonomous, poetic inscriptions that make them speak in such a way that the object praises itself in the absence of the poet. Not only objects were given self-conscious, autonomous voices in the first person, but also buildings whose inscriptions, sometimes in reference to nearby objects such as fountains or water jugs, praise themselves. The interaction then, between the viewer and the speaking object is dictated by the poet, who instructs the viewer through the object. One imagines the viewer, almost at play, first deciphering the text, and then reciting it as if it were the autonomous voice of the object or building; the director, the poet, disappears from the set. The contents of these autonomous inscriptions are almost always concerned with the contemplation and appreciation of beauty and excellence of manufacture. The means by which beauty is processed by the poet for the viewer is frequently through praising mimesis, the beautiful artifice that imitates a natural thing.[7] That the inscriptions refer to the reproduction of experiences, situations, and results, and not abstractions, points to their primarily oral, poetic context—these inscriptions, like poems, were meant to be read aloud, and re-experienced by each viewer.

The ivory pyxis (cat. no. 18) mentioned above and perhaps referred to by Ibn Zaidun, was carved by Khalaf for

FIG. 3. *A general view of the interior of the Mosque at Córdoba. Engraving by Benoist. From Alexandre Laborde* Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne, *1812.*

the Umayyad caliph al-Hakam II—probably as a gift for his concubine Subh—and bears the inscription in a band around its circumference, "The sight that I offer is the fairest of sights, the still firm breast of lovely young woman. Beauty has bestowed upon me a robe clad with jewels, so that I am a vessel for musk and camphor and ambergris." The author controls the experience of the viewer, who must turn the transcription clockwise in his or her hand to decipher it and read it aloud. The viewer links the description of the "still firm breast" visually to the domed shape of the object's lid while the description of its contents enjoins the viewer to open the pyxis and to sense the interior and its aromas. Later, one imagines, the viewer will assess the exterior carving, "a robe clad with jewels," and reflect upon the verses and poetic fragments and motifs that they may evoke. As a private object, intended to mark a significant event in the Umayyad court, the pyxis might be passed from hand to hand among the intimate companions of its

intended recipient, so that the same concrete experience may be repeated for each viewer.[8]

The evidence seems to suggest that the poetic practice of directing a viewer's experience and perception through an autonomous, animating inscription moved from minor objects to buildings, and not the reverse: Most praise-poems of palaces describe them in the third person or the second person (You, Palace). At least by the early twelfth century, however, the reciting poet assumed the mantle of director or intermediary for the perceptions of the viewer. The Sicilian poet Ibn Hamdis (447–527/1055–1132), who had resided in Seville, recited for his patron al-Mansur 'Ali b. al-Nass at Bougie (present-day Algeria) a poem that instructs the viewer to imagine the palace as the poet does himself at the same time as the viewer observes it: "Oh, Palace! If your vision is darkened by its light, you must endeavor to look upon it again… / I looked, and lo, I beheld the most incomparable of sights; then I averted my gaze, blinded. / And I believed myself to be hallucinating in Paradise when I beheld the king in his glory… / One imagines the marble covering of the patio to be a cushion of fine silk or a carpet of camphor, / And one imagines its dust to be a covering of fine pearls; the aromas dispersed are those of musk and ambergris / You see in the cistern the spreading of its mantle: pearls strewn over a ground of topaz. / [The garden's] beauties laugh at you as though the flowering of its stars were made teeth; / The gates are plated with gold dust: contemplate their decoration and images…."[9]

The maximum expression of the autonomous, animating poetic inscription on buildings in al-Andalus is found at the Alhambra palace in Granada. The corpus of inscribed verses that survives on the walls of the palace is especially important because many of the poets can be identified, including such well-known poets as Ibn al-Khatib (713–41/1313–40) and Ibn Zamrak (733–95/1333–93). The scriptorium responsible for the development and execution of inscriptions at the Alhambra flourished from the reign of the Nasrid kings Muhammad II (r. 671–701/1273–1302) and Yusuf III (r. 810–20/ 1408–17), with perhaps its most important development under Muhammad V (r. twice 755–93/1354–91) (see cat. nos. 45, 46, 50, and 52). In these autonomous inscriptions, the building and its attendant parts not only praise themselves through the voice of the poet, but also praise their patrons.[10] For example, a poem by Ibn Zamrak in the Mirador de Lindaraja, one of the chambers in the palace, states, "My charms are so extreme, that even the stars on the distant horizon borrow them. / I am the delighted eye of this garden, and the apple of this eye, in truth, is lord [king] / Muhammad, praised for his gifts and bravery, with fame (how lofty?) and with virtue (how sweet?)…."[11] The hallucinatory experience recommended by the poet Ibn Hamdis is replicated by Ibn Zamrak in another poem over a blind niche at the entrance to the Mirador, "Every art has offered its beauty, to give me its splendors and perfections. / He who sees me, imagines me at all hours, offering to the jug that which achieves its desire. / When a discerning person contemplates my beauty, his own perception belies his imagination, / and seeing the translucence of my glow, the full moon, releases its happiness on me like an aureole."[12] The poem refers to a jug, replenished with water, in order to please its patron; thus the poem instructs not only the viewer's perceptions but also his interactions. The jugs of water at the Alhambra probably were adorned with autonomous inscriptions like that on the decorative Freer vase (cat. no. 46) in which the poet perceives the viewer himself as adorned by the splendor of his surroundings, "O thou onlooker who art adorned with the splendor of the dwelling / Look at my shape today and contemplate: thou wilt see my excellence / For I appear to be made of silver and my clothing from blossoms / My happiness lays in the hands of him who is my owner, underneath the canopy."[13] These poetic constructions of perceptions of perfect beauty and of paradise would serve as a source of legends for the Moriscos, and would be

widely disseminated in both manuscript form, and in Spanish and other translations.

MEDIEVAL CHRISTIAN PERCEPTIONS

The excellence of Islamic architecture and crafts in al-Andalus did not escape the notice of its Christian conquerors, who admired it immensely. The thirteenth-century *Primera Crónica General* calls Córdoba "a royal city and like the mother of all of the other cities of Andalucía," "the patrician of the other cities," and its congregational mosque "the mosque that overtakes and vanquishes in construction and grandeur all of the other mosques of the Arabs."[14] The chronicle constantly extols the "many and great riches" of Andalucía, for example, describing the city of Jaén as "A royal city of a great population, well fortified and well encastled by a very strong and extensive wall, well settled, and with many great towers, and with abundant and sweet, cold waters inside the city, and abounding in all riches that a noble and rich city should have."[15] The qualities of the city of Seville were so extraordinary to its conquerors that the chronicle contains an entire chapter devoted to its description, "The walls [fortifications] of Seville are so superbly tall and strong and very wide; high towers that are well spaced, large and very well constructed; the encircling wall of any other city is like Seville's barbican alone. If one only considers the Torre del Oro [the Almohad watchtower], and how it is founded on the sea [*sic,* the river] and so symmetrically designed and built of such subtle and marvelous construction, and how much it cost the king who built it, who could know or estimate how much it would be? And then the tower of Sancta María [the minaret of the Almohad mosque] and all of its nobility, and of such great beauty and height, such are its qualities: it is sixty cubits across its roof in width, and four something [*sic*] in height; so wide and so smooth and made of such masterful work and so well measured is its stairway by which one ascends the tower, that the kings and queens and noble men ascend mounted on beasts when they want to reach its summit; and at the top of the tower is another tower, which is eight cubits wide, made in a marvelous way. And on top are four apples raised one above the other, so large and of such great work and with such quality are they fashioned that in all the world there cannot exist others that are so noble.... Merchants from all parts of the world disembark there from Tangiers, Ceuta, Tunis, Bougie, Alexandria, Genoa, Portugal, England, Pisa, Lombardy, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Sicily, Gascoigne, Cataluña, Aragón, and even France, and from many other places overseas, from the lands of Christians and Muslims...how could it not be a very good and very valuable city being so well finished, so complete, and with such an abundance of goods as it is? For its olive oil alone, the whole world comes by land and by sea, and this without mentioning all of the other bounty and other riches that would be too difficult to recount...."[16]

Not only appreciation, but also an ecstatic triumphalism pervades these thirteenth-century perceptions. Similar, but more practical were Alfonso X's perceptions of the Great Mosque of Córdoba in the 1260s when it was apparently on the point of collapse. Neglect after the conquest of 1236 and decades of civil war meant that institutional support and maintenance routines were no longer in place. Alfonso X was petitioned by the bishop of Córdoba to establish means to preserve it. He responded in 1261, "That in the above-mentioned church of Santa María, there was much damage in the woodwork, and that it needed to be repaired in many ways, and there is a need for us to impose some remedy there in the case that it should be lost, because if not, the ruin of such a noble church would be a loss," and imposed the collection of tithes in support of the restoration.[17] By 1263, Alfonso X created a new tax, this time a labor tax, writing, "we...are greatly pleased that [in order that] the noble church of Santa María of the city of Córdoba should be better protected and not collapse, nor anything belonging to it be destroyed, we judge it to be appropriate and order that all the Moorish carpenters,

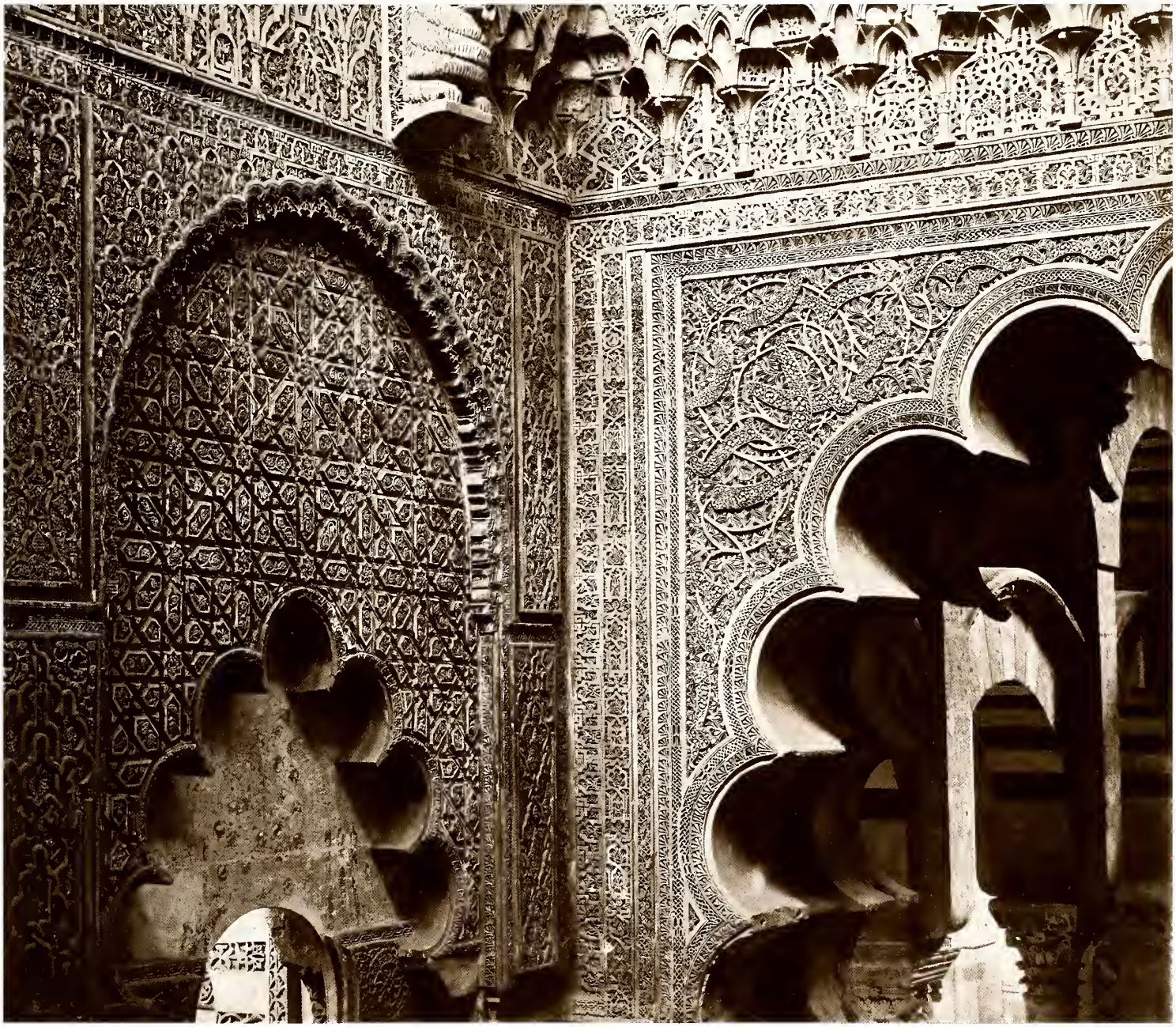


FIG. 4. *Córdoba. Detail of Mudejar plaster work in the Capilla Real, Great Mosque of Córdoba. Photo by T. Molina, 1880s. Hispanic Society of America, New York, 21128.*

FIG. 5. *Seville. Mudéjar tower and parish church of Santa Catalina. Photo by J. Laurent 1860s, Hispanic Society of America, New York, 24369.*

masons and sawyers that there are in Córdoba should labor, each one of them, two days of the year in the works of the above-mentioned church...."[18] This tax was paid by Mudéjar craftsmen in Córdoba at least until the end of the thirteenth century, the Muslim population quadrupling in these forty years. As one might imagine, it unleashed complex tensions among the Muslims in Córdoba, who were threatened with arrest if they did not comply. What it reveals is that the Mudéjar population was overburdened and overtaxed in inverse proportion to contemporary recognition of the skill and artistry of Muslim craftsmen. Mudéjar craftsmen became, until the end of the fifteenth century, the most sought after carpenters, potters, weavers, plaster workers, and other types of artisans in Spain, patronized by the church, crown, and nobility of all persuasions. Their communal influence and prestige, however, declined. Apart from the Nasrid kingdom of Granada they had few political advocates or places of refuge within the peninsula.

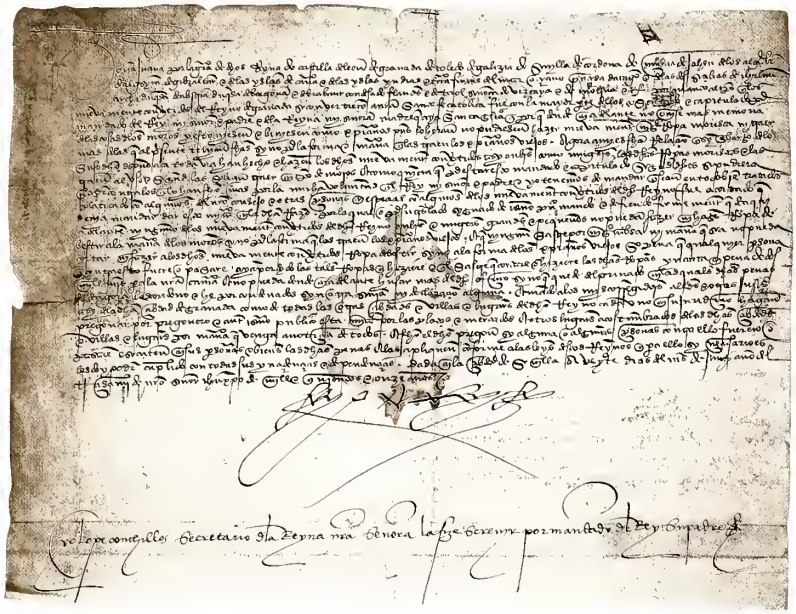
CONVIVENCIA: HISTORY

Convivencia, cohabitation, between Muslims, Christians, and Jews was more often than not a tense proposition. Long before the forced conversions of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, conversion offered a captive population an alternative to emigration.[19] According to Ibn Bassam, after Alfonso VI's conquest of Toledo in 1085, many Muslims of all social classes were won over by the

placatory tactics of their conquerors, and some converted to Christianity. This phenomenon caused a crisis not only in the local, Toledan Muslim community but also among the taifa opponents of Alfonso VI.[20] But the trend went both ways. Under the Almoravids in the early twelfth century, some Mozarabs (Arabized Christians) in al-Andalus converted to Islam, while others were deported to the Maghrib.[21] Later, in the mid-twelfth century, the Almohads offered religious minorities in their captured territories a choice between conversion to Islam or exile; in al-Andalus, Jews and Christians chose exile, while in the Maghrib, Jews chose conversion.[22] After the Castilian conquest of Seville in 1248, it is clear that some Muslims converted to Christianity, perhaps to avoid the expulsion stipulated in the surrender pacts. By the 1270s regulations were enacted that forbade these *christianos nouos* to live with Muslims, make use of the Muslim *alfondigas* (*entrepôts*), celebrate Islamic festivals and weddings, dress like them, or resemble them in any way.[23] These new converts must have inspired fear in the Castilians as they were subject to curfews and instructed to walk with a lantern at night in such a way as to show that they did not intend to inflict harm. Harsh punishments were prescribed for any violators.

By the sixteenth century, however, such repressive measures would be replicated in another context. After the conquest of Granada in 1492 many of the provisions of the capitulation that protected the rights and livelihoods of the Grenadine Mudéjars were eroded to the point that a rebellion broke out at the end of 1499. The consequences of the suppression of the rebels could not have been more dramatic. By 1499 in Granada and 1502 in Castile, most of the Mudéjars had chosen conversion over expulsion. The lords of Aragón managed to protect the rights of their Mudéjars for two decades, but by 1520, they too were forced to choose conversion or expulsion. By this time, all of the mosques of the Mudéjars had become properties of the state. For the Moriscos—the name by which these converted Muslims were known—conversion was a huge concession in exchange for which they thought they would be left in peace. Instead, they were punished and subject to further repressions. The first were economic and the second religious: In 1501, all Islamic books were ordered burnt and butchers were forbidden to slaughter animals according to Islamic principles. In 1511, a series of royal decrees (*cédulas*) issued by Juana and Fernando II of Aragón, her father, attacked the cultural life of the Moriscos. Among the stipulations were prohibitions against carrying anything resembling a weapon, Arabic books, the slaughtering of animals in the Islamic tradition, and entering certain professions such as money changing.[24] Finally, in 1526, definitive rules were established that prohibited the Moriscos from using written or spoken Arabic, bearing arms, owning slaves, wearing amulets or obviously Islamic jewelry, and wearing "Morisco" clothing.

In the collection of the Hispanic Society of America, there is a royal charter from this corpus of decrees against the Moriscos, issued in Seville and dated June 20, 1511. The decree prohibits the "newly converted" of Granada from wearing or sewing "Morisco" dress.[25] The objective of the prohibition, according to the document, is "so that here and henceforth there will be no memory of the things of the Moors, and they will act and live like old Christians."[26] The Hispanic Society charter is the only known exemplar of this *cédula*, though the Morisco Francisco Núñez Muley, mentioned it in his memorial, along with two similar cédulas concerning Morisco vestments dated 1508 and 1513.[27] Neither of the latter two charters appears to have been circulated widely. Núñez Muley claims to have convinced Charles V to repeal the new law concerning vestments five years after the charter of 1511, a reversal evinced by the image of Moriscas wearing Islamic dress in the engravings of Granada in Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitatis Orbis Terrarum* (1572–1618). In 1563, the Venetian traveler Andrea Navagero also noted that the Morisca women in Granada wore Islamic dress, which he called "a fantastic costume."[28] Perhaps the most unusual items of Morisca dress



Florencio Janer, *Condición social moriscos españoles*. Sevilla, 1857. Hispanic Society of America, New York. B1697

in Granada were wide pantaloons that were bound from the ankles to the knees with puttees. A tunic, vest, and loose short jacket were worn over the pantaloons. In public, Morisca women wore a wide embroidered coat that fell to the knees, and a large white veil that was clutched below the chin.

The aim of the Spanish monarchs in the early sixteenth century was to assimilate the baptized Moriscos into Christian society as quickly as possible by force of law. The repeated repressive measures that eliminated the cultural, political, and religious liberties of the Moriscos did not grant them the same rights as old Christians, and eventually led to a protracted uprising of the Moriscos in the kingdom of Granada in 1568–70. The depressing result for some eighty thousand Grenadine Moriscos was their expulsion to Castile. The political policy of assimilation shifted in two ways: On the one hand, the Moriscos were considered by the crown and the church to be inassimilable, and on the other, they were now prevented from assimilation by law: they were forbidden intermarriage with old Christians and liberty of movement.

The final indignity visited on the Moriscos was expulsion, carried out between 1609 and 1614. Though some Morisco vassal communities were protected by their noble lords even into the late sixteenth century, particularly in the kingdom of Valencia, where the Moriscos were appreciated for their skills in cultivation as well as artisanry, the political tide had turned against them. The precise political reasoning behind the drastic act of expulsion has never been fully explained, but it was an act that had been under consideration by the crown for at least a decade before its final execution. In general, it is believed that the expulsion was predicated on concerns for the security of Spain based on fears of further Morisco uprisings that might be supported by an Ottoman invasion. But, there were other contemporary perceptions. Ahmad b. Qasim al-Hajari (d. ca. 1640), a Morisco who lived through the expulsion, wrote that he thought that the Spanish understood that the Moriscos lived secretly as Muslims, and thus forbade them from travel, seafaring, and serving in the army. He reasoned that as the Moriscos did not enter convents and monasteries, and all of them married, and thus their numbers grew in higher proportion to the Christians, some of whom were celibate while others were killed in war and at sea—the Christians feared that they would be outnumbered.[29] Popular resentment of the Moriscos, who competed with old Christians for land, resources, and protection, cannot be underestimated. An anonymous, polemical romance describing the expulsion of the Moriscos from Seville in 1609 criticizes their conspicuous wealth and sumptuous attire (a charge leveled earlier at the *judeo-conversos*) but at the same time offers a poignant impression of their distress and longing as they are being rowed out to sea. According to this poem, many Moriscos left monies behind at their local parish churches in Seville,

so that mass might be recited for them if they died during the dangerous crossing. Popular opinion saw these donations as ostentatious and insincere, and the author of the poem states—echoing the widespread belief of the Moriscos themselves—that the Moriscos' sins were the cause of their own suffering.[30] Justified or lamented in the contemporary sources, the expulsion of four percent of the population of Spain resulted in disastrous economic consequences for decades.

CONVIVENCIA: LITERATURE

The two converted communities of sixteenth-century Spain, the Jewish and the Muslim, reacted very differently

FIG. [illegible] *Pere Oriola, Embarkation of the Moriscos at the port of Valencia. Oil on canvas, 1612–1610.* [illegible] *Collection Fundación Bancaja, photograph by Juan Garcia Rosell. The captions on the painting record that 15,615 Moriscos were expelled through the port of Valencia, along with 2,286 children. Another [illegible],490 Moriscos from the interior were forced to leave through Valencia in addition to 1,903 Morisco prisoners. The caption states that the embarking Moriscos paid for the flotilla voluntarily. Perhaps the most striking scene in the infernal atmosphere of the painting is in the foreground, where some Moriscos are giving homage to their former Christian lords, and a father takes leave of his daughter who has been adopted by that family. Children younger than seven were required to be left behind.*

JARROS ó VASO ARABE que se conserva en GRANADA
VASE ARABE conservé à GRENADE | An ARABIAN VASE preserved at GRANADA

FIG. 8. *Granada. Arabian vase preserved at Granada. Engraving by Thomas Smith. From Alexandre Laborde,* Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne, *1812. After a drawing by D. Sanchez Sarabia, engraved by Tomas Francisco Prieto, published in* Las Antiguedades Árabes de España, *1775, pl. 18.*

to the consequences of incorporation into a Catholic majority, and likewise, majority perceptions of them were different: The *judeo-conversos* made every attempt to integrate themselves publicly into the catholic majority, while the Moriscos made every attempt to keep themselves apart. Among the *judeo-conversos*, there were political elites, minor nobles, writers, printers, physicians, and ecclesiastics who in many cases had the power to conceal their origins. *"Converso"* literature impregnated Spanish literature in the sixteenth century, much of it written for *conversos* themselves, who would know how to decode it.[31] The professions of the Moriscos tended to be more humble: artisans, shopkeepers, farmers, and laborers, although there were exceptions. Some Moriscos managed to learn Arabic clandestinely and served publicly as royal and ecclesiastical translators. The study of the Qur'an and of Islamic law continued secretly in Morisco communities, but only under the most impoverished and distorted of circumstances: The Qur'ans that have survived from sixteenth-century Spain are written in *aljamiado*, Spanish written in Arabic letters.

One possible example of encoded signs can be found in the work of Miguel de Cervantes, who plays with the stereotypes of the *judeo-conversos*, the old Christians and the Moriscos in his novel *Don Quixote*. For Don Quixote, though outwardly insane, the world is set aright by reconstructing it according to outdated books of chivalry—books that his Christian servants try to burn. If he is to live in a world gone mad, his compromise is to be mad in that world. He conceals his *judeo-converso* origins from the servants by eating a dish of eggs and bacon (*duelos y quebrantos*, pains and afflictions) on the Sabbath, and his beloved, Dulcinea, is said to have "had the best hand for salting pork of any woman in all of La Mancha"—the joke, for those who understand, is that only a converted Jewess would be so ostentatious in her consumption of pork.[32] One can speculate that her name, based on the word *dulce* (sweet) is not an old Christian name, but rather sounds like a translation of an Arabic name like *Latifa* (sweet). The Morisco is the translator of the story of Don Quixote, which Cervantes claims to have found among some old papers written in Arabic in the Alcaná market in Toledo. He agrees to translate the book—a month and a half's labor—for some bushels of raisins and wheat, essentially a pittance. The Moriscos are described in contemporary accounts as being frugal and able to live on very poor food. The old Christians, represented by Don Quixote's servant, Sancho Panza, are caricatured as essentially unlettered peasants. Behind the story of Don Quixote is the noble Arab author Cide Hamete Benengeli. One might

interpret his name as Sidi Hamid b. Injili (My Lord Hamid [Muhammad] son of the Evangelist), a twisted pun, perhaps, on the Prophet Muhammad, a prophet who came after Jesus and who Catholics believed was a false prophet.[33] Here, Cervantes uses the device of the "Arab author" while deriding at it at the same time, as well-known forgeries were perpetrated in the sixteenth century on the authority of translated works from Arabic.

In the sixteenth century, an enigmatic Morisco known as the Mancebo de Arévalo traveled in Spain interviewing elderly Moriscos who had witnessed the fall of Granada and included their accounts in a work entitled *Tafçira* (religious treatise). These witnesses supplied not only an account of what had happened to them personally, but also their perceptions of the event and its consequences. Beyond their descriptions of devastating violence of the conquest, often overlooked, is the perception of its causes and the possibility or impossibility of redemption. Like the Jews, who blamed their expulsion from Jerusalem on the sins of the community, the Moriscos, perhaps influenced by Jewish views of their own, earlier expulsion from Spain, blamed their loss on the sins of their forefathers, on their vanity and materialism, and on their abandonment of religious obligations.[34] One of the figures that the Mancebo interviewed who tried to dissuade him from this view was a lady of more than ninety years called the Mora of Úbeda, who had lost almost all of her family in the conquest. She was an educated woman who had worked as a cataloguer in the Nasrid royal library, and was a respected voice among the Moriscos of Granada.[35] She told the Mancebo, "I wish to God, son, that the suffering from this event does not last as long as it seems to me now. I wish to God that as is His might, so will be His grace toward the Muslims of this golden isle, and that the minarets will raise themselves upright again. Son, do not doubt for a moment, as our honorable Qur'an says, that those who now weep are the cause of the event, because if our ancestors sinned, why do those at present have to suffer, if they were truly faithful to God?"[36]

Yushe Banegas, a friend of the Mora, offered a more pessimistic view to the Mancebo, one that offers no possibility of redemption at all to future generations. He recounted, "Son, I realize that about Granada, you know nothing; and if I remember it, do not let it horrify you, because not a moment goes by that it does not reverberate in my heart, and there is not a minute nor an hour that passes that it does not rend my entrails—you can trust me when I say that nobody wept with such disgrace as the sons of Granada. Do not doubt that I tell the truth because I am one of them, and an eyewitness at that—I saw with my own eyes all of the noble ladies denuded *(descarnecidas),* widows and married women alike; and I saw more than three hundred maidens sold in public. I lost three sons, and all of them died in defense of *al-din* (the religion), and I lost two daughters and my wife. This sole daughter that I have remains as my consolation, as she was [only] seven months old. Son, I do not cry about the past because there is no returning to it—but I weep for what you will see if you live and wait in this land and in this island of Spain."[37]

For many Moriscos, redemptive messianism was an important source of legends and rumors, but also of consolation. One of these legends transposed Andalucía onto descriptions of Jerusalem, so that it was repositioned as the "city" directly under Paradise. One Morisco manuscript describes, "Andalucía has four gates of the gates of *al-janna* (paradise): one that they call Cayluwnata [unidentified, probably in the region of Málaga or Cádiz], another gate at Lorca, another that they call Tortosa and another that they call Guadalajara." Of the three cities that can be identified, none is a major city and the triangle or rectangle that they form across eastern Spain does not correspond to any particular borders, but perhaps they were places with large Morisco populations. The Mancebo cites Moriscos who call Almería "a river of paradise," and Granada "a pillar of Islam [paralleling Mecca]." However ecstatic his descriptions of the riches of Andalucía he saw in his travels, he reproaches this type of legend as ignorant, and attributes his own knowledge to a

Hebrew manuscript that he saw in the house of a Jewish friend.[38] What the Mancebo devalued, perhaps, were both the hopes and aspirations for salvation among the Moriscos, and the consolation provided by medieval poetic descriptions of al-Andalus as paradise.

RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE SPANISH PERCEPTIONS

We have lingered here on this discussion of the Moriscos because it is a period rich in perceptions on both sides, but also because the expulsion of the Moriscos marked an irreparable break from the past, not only in terms of the active repression of all things Islamic but also in terms of knowledge of the history of Spain. Few Arabic texts survived in the peninsula in the seventeenth century: Some Arabic manuscripts were housed in libraries such as that of the Escorial Palace, but many were well hidden, some so perfectly plastered into walls of houses that they were not discovered until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Likewise, almost no Hebrew and Judaic texts survived in Spain itself, although Christian books with leaves from Hebrew books in their bindings have recently been discovered in Gerona. Arabic sources that were available in baroque Spain in Spanish or Latin translation tended to be scientific, philosophical, or geographical, and not historical, with few exceptions. Thus, not only were the sources absent in Spain, but also, the translators. There was a generation of well-known Arabic translators that lived into the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, such as the Moriscos Alonso del Castillo and Miguel de Luna, Francisco Gurmendi, and scholars such as Benito Arias Montano and Diego de Urrea, but they died leaving only a paper legacy.[39] Few new translators and scholars were trained in Arabic, and the whole enterprise of Arabic translation in Spain became tainted with the affair of the forged "lead books" from the Sacromonte (Granada)—a source of scholarly fascination today, but at the time a desperate attempt by Grenadine Moriscos to align themselves with certain ecclesiastical figures and causes as a means of avoiding expulsion. The "lead books" were inscribed circles of lead that contained purported unknown gospels written in Arabic that were "discovered" with relics of alleged early Christian martyrs in the 1580s.[40] The consequences of this affair, and its effect of delegitimizing Arabic translators in the peninsula, stretched into the mid-seventeenth century, long after the Moriscos had left Spain. On the other hand, whatever his involvement in the "lead books" affair, Alonso del Castillo's translations of Arabic inscriptions at the Alhambra palace served as a fundamental base for all subsequent translations including those by Évariste Lévi-Provençal in the 1930s.

The lack of data and translators were not the only difficulties that manifested themselves in the work of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historians in Spain. There was also a political agenda of repression of the Islamic past of the peninsula that favored, by default, Roman and Gothic histories, as well as an ecclesiastical agenda that was concerned with creating a Christian past in Andalucía, replete with local saints and their relics. The former agenda led historians to assume that Islamic structures including walls, buildings, bridges, and aqueducts were built by the Romans, and the latter led historians down the path of forgery and invention, of fraudulent chronicles and phony martyrs, much like the Morisco's "lead books."[41]

These trends can be perceived in the accounts of travelers to Spain who are often assumed to be immune to the internal affairs of the countries that they visit. For example, though the German traveler Jerónimo Münzer claimed in 1495 that Seville "still contained innumerable monuments and antiquities of the Saracens," by 1526, when Andrea Navagero saw it, he wrote that Seville "resembles, more than any other city in Spain, Italian [cities]."[42] Though Seville had changed significantly in those thirty years, Navagero's perceptions were also shaped by the Renaissance mood that transformed Seville's intellectual and cultural life. Later, toward the end of the century, the distortions of

the counterreformation would predominate. Exceptionally, in Granada, the symbolic value of the Alhambra palace as a victory monument was such that memories of the Islamic past were longer than in other parts of Andalucía. In 1515, Doña Juana, daughter of Isabel I of Castile and Fernando II of Aragón, who inherited the throne of Castile after her mother's death, issued a *cédula* concerning the preservation of the Alhambra that stated, "The Casa Real, this sumptuous and excellent edifice, shall so remain because the wish of my lords, the said king and queen, and my own, has always been and is that the said Alhambra and Casa be well repaired and maintained, in order that it stand forever as a perpetual memorial...and that such an excellent memorial and sumptuous building as this not fall into disrepair and be lost."[43] Echoing her thirteenth-century predecessor in Castile, Alfonso X, she declared that the value of the building enhanced the prestige of Granada and the crown and served as a focal point for what was permitted as "remembrance of the things of the Moors"—not the "things" of the ordinary Moriscos, but of their former kings.

FIG. 9. [illegible]

LATER PERCEPTIONS: THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

In the mid-eighteenth century, things began to change, and two important projects of cataloguing and recording were initiated. In 1749, the Syrian Maronite priest Miguel Casiri, one of the few Arabists of any talent in Spain in this period, began to compile a catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts at the Escorial library—the first complete catalogue since Alonso del Castillo's in the sixteenth century. Casiri, like Castillo, was also engaged in the deciphering of Arabic inscriptions in cities such as Seville, Granada and Córdoba. And in 1756, three architects from the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, José de Hermosilla, Juan Pedro Arnal, and Juan de Villanueva, initiated a project to document Islamic architecture as a subject of classical study in a series of masterful drawings, and later, engravings, that were published as *Las Antigüedades Árabes de España*. For the first time, monuments such as the deteriorating Alhambra palace were referred to by the academy as "our antiquities"; the drawings were intended to help the preservation of fragile buildings and to increase knowledge about them.[44] While the project did not remain untainted by some of the residual impulses of counterreformation forgers in Granada—it included forged objects that had been planted in the Alcazaba of the Alhambra and then "excavated"—it recorded the

Alhambra and Generalife palaces in plans, elevations, and details; the Great Mosque of Córdoba; coins and talismans; tombs; and inscriptions that were widely copied.

In the early nineteenth century, the Arabist José Antonio Conde, a former director of the Escorial library and the royal library at Madrid, made another important contribution to the study of al-Andalus. In his posthumous publication of 1820–21, *Historia de la dominación de los Árabes en España*, Conde offered for the first time a complete history of Islamic Spain based on Arabic sources, establishing a basic framework of periods and dynasties that still holds. Conde elevated Spanish Muslim culture at the expense of what he considered the corrupted cultures of contemporary North Africa and the East, and argued that it was superior to Spain's classical heritage. He was concerned with situating the Islamic history and culture of Spain into its local context, investigating Arabic loan words and the use of Arabic expressions and syntax in Spanish. Similar to the architects who perceived Islamic buildings as "our antiquities," Conde was the first modern historian, whatever the shortcomings of his translations, to consider Spain's Islamic heritage as an integral part of Spanish history.[45]

Following on the heels of the project that produced the *Antigüedades Árabes de España* and the work of Conde were the interests of the foreign romantics. French and English antiquarians, travel writers, and architects such as Alexandre Laborde, James Cavanah Murphy, and Owen Jones based their descriptions, drawings, and engravings on these two preceding works.[46] However much the approach, selections, interests, and motives of the romantics can be criticized today, it is to them that must be attributed the first major international distribution of information and images of the Islamic arts and architecture of Spain, and the inspiration for the passions of collectors. The tastes of nineteenth- and twentieth-century collectors such as Mariano Fortuny, and later, Archer Huntington, tended toward the decorative arts—Manises lusterware, textiles, tiles, ivories, and marble—and there is a very definite connection with the emergence of new ideas for design in contemporary industrial arts, most obviously in the publications of Owen Jones. The presentation of isolated architectonic elements of Islamic architecture in the engravings published in the nineteenth century was intended to make patterns and shapes freely adaptable and transferable to new industrial applications. And yet, behind the appreciation for exotic scenes of ruins, for patterns found in Islamic arts and their possible adaptations, and for the sheer impression of surviving monuments like the Great Mosque of Córdoba were political interests and the projection of imagined social values.

The main agenda of romantic authors in France, England and Germany was an appreciation of the exotic, of the other, born from a kind of cultural tedium and a liberal quest for the unconventional. This thirst was fed with travel to destinations deemed suitably strange, mainly in what was considered the "Orient" but also to Mediterranean countries such as Italy, Greece, and Spain. Victor Hugo wrote in his preface to his collection of poems *Les Orientales* (1829), "L'Espagne c'est encore l'Orient, l'Espagne est à demi africaine" (Spain is still the Orient, Spain is half-African).[47] A significant element of the romantic agenda in Spain was awoken by Spain's war of independence and the defeat of the Napoleonic troops in 1808. Spain's strength in the face of such crushing brutality inspired solidarity and hopes for liberalization in other parts of Europe. The Englishman Robert Southey wrote in 1808, "if the deliverance of Europe were to take place in our days, there was no country in which it was so likely to begin as Spain; and this opinion, whenever I express it, was received with wonder, if not with incredulity. But if there is a spirit of patriotism, a glowing and proud remembrance of the past, a generous shame for the present, and a living hope for the future, both in the Spaniards and the Portuguese, which convinced me that the heart of the country was sound and that those nations are likely to rise in the scale…when we are sunk. Not that England will sink yet, but there is more public virtue in Spain than in any other country under heaven."[48] Chateaubriand, writing twenty

years later in his preface to his orientalizing romance *Les aventures du dernier abencérage*, characterized the general feeling among liberals: "The portrait that I have traced of the Spaniards explains well enough why this news could not be printed under the imperial government. The resistance of Spaniards to Bonaparte, of an unarmed people to this conqueror who had vanquished the best soldiers of Europe, excited then the enthusiasm of all the hearts likely to be touched by the great devotions and the noble sacrifices. The ruins of Saragossa were still smoking and the censure would not have permitted praises there where it had discovered, with reason, a hidden interest for the victims."[49]

The romantic political agenda and aspirations for a free Europe inspired by a perceived noble and virtuous Spain, when applied to the cultural sphere, had other intentions. The English translations of sixteenth-century Spanish romances, assumed to be themselves translations from Arabic, transformed them into British ballads. They became an element in the nineteenth-century program by which "British culture represented itself to itself and found its place in the cultural history of Europe."[50] Likewise, Pascual de Gayangos, a displaced Spaniard in nineteenth-century England, wrote the first translation of al-Maqqari's *Nafh al-tib* (a seventeenth-century compilation of Arabic sources on the history of al-Andalus) in 1840–43 not as a scientific examination of the text, but as tales for the gentlemanly reader. He rearranged the text in a new sequence so as to create an exotic folktale rather than a critical examination of the history of al-Andalus. Perhaps predictably, Gayangos' work competed for popularity with Washington Irving's retelling of tales of the conquest of Granada, and later, tales of the Alhambra that he gleaned from sources such as Conde.[51] It was through these works that the European and American perceptions of the noble but impoverished Spaniard who had defeated the professional Napoleonic troops was transferred to that of the Moor, but with melancholy. Irving wrote, "Never was the annihilation of a people more complete than that of the Morisco Spaniards. Where are they? Ask the shores of Barbary and its desert palaces. The exiled remnant of their once powerful empire disappeared among the barbarians of Africa, and ceased to be a nation. They have not even left a distinct name behind them, though for nearly eight centuries they were a distinct people. The home of their adoption, and of their occupation for ages, refuses to acknowledge them, except as invaders and usurpers. A few broken monuments are all that remains to bear witness to their power and dominion, as solitary rocks, left far in the interior, bear testimony to the extent of some vast inundation. Such is the Alhambra;—a Moslem pile in the midst of a Christian land; an Oriental palace amidst the Gothic edifices of the West; an elegant memento of a brave, intelligent, and graceful people, who conquered, ruled, flourished, and passed away."[52] It is perhaps in the mid-nineteenth-century photographs of Islamic monuments by the English photographer Charles Clifford—more than in the exuberant elevations of Owen Jones—that this romantic *tristesse* and remorse is best represented.

In the twentieth century, the discovery of Arabic sources on al-Andalus in Morocco, mainly by colonial historians, enabled a much better understanding of the history of al-Andalus in seminal works such as Lévi-Provençal's *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane* (1950–53). The study and translation of Jewish Andalusi sources in Hebrew and Arabic has provided, in tandem, a historical vision that has left behind romantic nineteenth-century notions of a "Golden Age" predicated on the contemporary persecutions of European Jewry. Likewise, scientific approaches in the field of the history of art and architecture, as well as the maturing of archaeological technique has moved academic studies of al-Andalus away from the political discourses of the past. And yet on the level of theory and of polemic, the perception of al-Andalus as a lost Eden has persisted, almost always linked to contemporary influences, whether fascism, the Spanish Civil War, or the definition of a national or autonomous identity that is almost always sought in historical construction. These views should not be ignored, but rather need to be contextualized within their own frameworks.

· CATALOGUE ·

CATALOGUE

· THE UMAYYADS ·

711–1010

IN 711, NORTH AFRICAN ALLIES OF the Umayyad dynasty in Syria conquered much of the Iberian Peninsula and defeated its rulers, the Visigoths. There was a marked discontinuity with Visigothic institutions in the early Umayyad administration in al-Andalus (Islamic Spain)—most striking, perhaps, was the selection of Córdoba, and not the Visigothic capital, Toledo, as the capital city. By 720, the use of Latin as an administrative language also seems to have languished in favor of Arabic.

At first, al-Andalus was ruled from Córdoba by a series of governors appointed in Damascus. Under the Umayyad prince ʻAbd al-Rahman I b. Muʻawiya (r. 756–788), who escaped the ʻAbbasid massacre of his family in Damascus, al-Andalus became an independent principality, under the cultural influence but not the political control of the ʻAbbasid caliphs in the central Islamic lands. In 932, his descendant, ʻAbd al-Rahman III al-Nasir li-Din Allah (r. 912–961), assumed the caliphate, challenging the hegemony and prestige of the ʻAbbasids and the Fatimids in the eastern Mediterranean region, and bringing the now politically fragmented peninsula under his control.

By the tenth century, Córdoba had become the brightest, wealthiest, and most populous city in Europe, noted for its religious scholars, scientists, poets, and artists; its Muslim majority lived side by side with Christians and Jews—quarters reserved for Jews and Christians developed much later under Christian domination. Figures such as Hasday b. Shaprut (915–970), a physician and leader of the Jewish community, and the Mozarabic bishop of Elvira, Racemundo (Rabiʻ b. Zayd; elevated 955), rose to positions of prominence at court. One of the architectural wonders of the world, the Great Mosque of Córdoba, initiated by ʻAbd al-Rahman I, was enlarged and embellished by successive caliphs until it reached its maximum extension and width in 987. The caliph al-Hakam II al-Mustansir bi-ʼllah (r. 961–976), was responsible for the most elaborate extension of the Great Mosque on the *qibla* (southeastern) side. Perhaps the greatest architectural achievement of ʻAbd al-Rahman III and al-Hakam II was the construction of Madinat al-Zahraʼ, an elaborate capital city east of Córdoba, built for the caliph and his court, though eventually, it was opened to settlement by the public. Burnt and pillaged in 1010 during the civil unrest that followed the breakdown of caliphal authority and its ambiguous line of succession, Madinat al-Zahraʼ became legendary: Its mosque, palace complex, and gardens served as models of courtly elegance for the political successors to the Umayyads, and as a source of spolia that was used to demonstrate political and religious legitimacy wherever it was reemployed.

1. **CAPITAL.** Marble, gesso, polychrome, and gilding. Madinat al-Zahra', 960s.

Coins are official documents that generally bear a message of sovereignty or religious propaganda. It is not surprising, then, that after the Muslim conquest of al-Andalus, the Visigothic mints were closed and their gold coin, the tremissis, was discontinued. Instead, new mint masters were brought from North Africa—probably from Qairawan—who produced small, gold solidi that bore the Islamic declaration of faith, the shahada, in abbreviated Latin on the obverse. The corresponding half-solidus coins bore a device that was adapted and reconfigured from standard Byzantine solidi: The cross on the hill of Golgotha became the *qutb,* or celestial pole—associated with the figure of the Umayyad caliph—circled by the polestar, an eight-rayed star on the reverse.

The first purely Arabic gold coin in al-Andalus, the dinar, was minted in Córdoba in 720 and bore inscriptions including the *shahada,* a verse from the Surat al-Tawba (Q 9:33) that describes Muhammad's prophetic mission, and the *basmala* invocation (In the name of God...). The dirham, the first purely Arabic silver coin, was struck in al-Andalus in 722 and contains similar inscriptions, with the addition of the Surat al-Ikhlas (Q 112), a chapter of the Qur'an that discourages trinitarianism.

In the second half of the tenth century, 'Abd al-Rahman III gained political control of the African gold trade, which allowed him to mint huge numbers of dinars. In 947, the main mint in al-Andalus was moved from Córdoba to Madinat al-Zahra'.

From top left 2. **TREMISSIS**. Gold. Toledo, ca. 694–710.
3. **SOLIDUS (DINAR)**. Gold. Spain, Indiction XI/94/713.
4. **HALF-SOLIDUS (HALF-DINAR)**. Gold. Spain, ca. 97–98/716–17.
5. **HALF-SOLIDUS (HALF-DINAR)**. Gold. Spain, ca. 97–98/716–17.
6. **DINAR**. Gold. Al-Andalus (Córdoba), 102/720–21.
7. **HALF-DINAR**. Gold. Al-Andalus (Córdoba), 102/720–21.
8. **THIRD-DINAR**. Gold. Al-Andalus (Córdoba), 102/720–21.

9. CAPITAL. Marble and polychrome. Córdoba or Madinat al-Zahra', mid-10th century.

10. COLUMN BASE. Marble. Córdoba or Madinat al-Zahra', mid-10th century.

11. DIRHAM. Silver. Al-Andalus (Córdoba), 116/734–35.

12. DIRHAM. Silver. Al-Andalus (Córdoba), 170/786–87.

13. DINAR. Gold. Al-Andalus (Córdoba), 317/929–30.

14. DINAR. Gold. Madinat al-Zahra', 337/948–49.

15. DIRHAM. Silver. Madinat al-Zahra', 338/949–50.

16. QUARTER-DINAR. Gold. Madinat al-Zahra', 363/973–74.

17. DINAR. Gold. Al-Andalus (Córdoba), 388/998.

18. PYXIS. Ivory with chased and nielloed silver-gilt mounts. Madinat al-Zahra', ca. 355/966.

THE TAIFA PERIOD

1009–1094

The approximately sixty small city-states of the eleventh-century taifa, or "party," kings were the successors to the Umayyad state. The miniature court cultures of the taifa kingdoms were renowned for their opulence and high level of poetic production; their symbolic legitimacy was sought through the imitation of and association with caliphal Córdoba, often with baroque results. It is sometimes argued that the efflorescence of these small principalities was a wholly Andalusi phenomenon—especially when the rulers sprang from the Arab and not Berber aristocracy—that would be crushed in the late-eleventh- and twelfth-century invasions by Christian forces from the northern Iberian Peninsula and Berber forces from North Africa; however, a certain colonial and racist attitude prevails in this view. What is clear is that in the taifa period, forming alliances of convenience and compromise with both Muslims and Christians ensured survival, though these alliances were sometimes abusive in terms of demand for tribute. Some alliances proved truly disastrous for the taifa kings: In 1085, Yahya b. Dhi 'l-Nun al-Qadir (r. 1081–1085, 1085–1092), ruler of Toledo, lost his kingdom to Alfonso VI (r. León 1065–1109, Castile and León 1072–1109), and Muhammad b. 'Abbad al-Mu'tamid's (r. Seville 1069–1091) miscalculation of the ambitions of his Berber ally from Morocco, Yusuf b. Tashufin (r. al-Andalus 1090–1107) meant that by 1094, most of the taifa kings had lost their thrones.

19. BASIN. Marble. Probably Seville, 11th century.

From top left **20. DINAR.** Gold. Al-Andalus, probably Córdoba, 412/1021–22.

21. DINAR. Gold. Seville, 465/1072–73.

22. MANCUS (DINAR). Gold. Barcelona, ca. 1035–76.

23. MANCUS (DINAR). Gold. Barcelona, ca. 1035–76.

24. BILINGUAL MANCUS (HALF-DINAR). Gold. Barcelona, ca. 1035-76.

From top left **25. DINAR.** Gold. Sanluka (Sanlúcar de Barrameda), 491/1097–98.

26. DINAR. Gold. Valencia, 504/1110–11.

27. DINAR. Gold. Seville, 536/1141–42.

28. TREMISSIS. Gold. Egitania (Idanha a Velha), ca.710–11.

29. DINERO. Billion. Toledo, ca.1086.

30. TOMBSTONE. Marble. Almería, Dhu'l Hijja 525/November 1131.

· AL-ANDALUS AND CHRISTIAN SPAIN ·

12th and 13th Centuries

IN THE CENTURY AND A HALF FROM the deposition of the taifa kings (1094) to the Castilian conquest of Seville (1248), al-Andalus would be reunified politically twice, both times linking it to empires that stretched across the Straits of Gibraltar to Marrakech and east to Tlemcen. Al-Andalus' richness in terms of agricultural fertility and pastureland, urban settlements, industrial arts, fortifications, and strategic access to both the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean meant that it was a prize coveted by its neighbors. The Almoravid (*al-murabitun,* "the garrisoned") state of confederated Sinhaja Berber tribes in western North Africa under Yusuf b. Tashufin (r. 1061– 1107) conquered al-Andalus between the years 1090 and 1094. In a certain sense, a new lease on life was given to al-Andalus by the Almoravids, but at the price of colonization. The Andalusis perceived the Almoravids as saviors and restorers of a pure Islam, but also as ignorant and unlettered, while the Almoravids themselves admired the religious scholars in al-Andalus and empowered them in the apparatus of their state. Despite its significant achievements, the continuous campaigns against al-Andalus by Alfonso VII of Castile (r. Castile and León 1126–1157) and Alfonso I of Aragón (r. 1104– 1134) weakened the Almoravid state, which had become unpopular due to illegal taxes it collected to support its war effort. The Almoravids became vulnerable to attacks in southern Morocco from another Berber confederation, the Masmuda, under its spiritual leader, Ibn Tumart (r. 1121– 1130) and his follower, 'Abd al-Mu'min (r. 1130–1163).

This confederation, the Almohads (al-*muwahhidun,* "the unifiers"), conquered and reconsolidated al-Andalus between 1147 and 1165. Breaking with the Almoravid tradition, the Almohads issued completely redesigned dinars and dirhams that bear a distinctive square frame and masterful cursive calligraphy. These coins would serve as the model for Islamic coinage in al-Andalus until the fifteenth century. Although theologically opaque, the Almohads are still admired for their extensive building projects in al-Andalus, especially in the city of Seville where they reinforced fortifications, expanded the city wall, and built a palace and major congregational mosque. The Almohads suffered a major defeat in 1212 at Las Navas de Tolosa that would prove decisive. The fifth Almohad caliph, Abu Ya'qub Yusuf II al-Mustansir, died in 1224 without an heir, and, like the Ummayad caliphate, the Almohad state fractured into smaller regional powers that were defeated into the 1240s by the military consortium under the command of Fernando III (r. Castile 1217–1252, Castile and León 1230–1252), and Jaume I of Aragón (r. 1213–1276). Out of the destruction that followed these military conquests arose the last major Muslim political state in al-Andalus, the Nasrid kingdom of Granada.

From top left **31. DINAR.** Gold. Seville, ca. 541–51/1146–56.
32. DINAR. Gold. Seville, ca. 563–80/1167–85.
33. THREE DIRHAMS. Silver. Córdoba, ca. 1163–1236.
34. MARAVEDÍ. Gold. Toledo, 1213 (era 1251).
35. MARAVEDÍ. Gold. León, ca. 1188–1230.

36. PRIVILEGIO RODADO.

Ink on parchment, red silk, and lead. Aguilar de Campo (Palencia), March 8, 1255.

ALFONSO X AND THE MUSLIMS

In 1252, Alfonso X of Castile and León (r. 1252–1284) inherited a greatly enlarged kingdom because of the conquests of his father, Fernando III. While the conquests forced many Muslims to leave al-Andalus, some moved to the kingdom of Granada, while others—generally those who could not afford to leave—remained in lands under Christian control. These Muslims, disparagingly called the *mudajjanun* (domesticated) by their coreligionists, became subjects of the Castilian and Aragónese crowns. Thus, Alfonso X became the lord of *mudajjanun*, Mudéjars, and three vassal Muslim kings of Murcía, Niebla, and Granada. Until the 1260s, Alfonso X's Muslim vassals had such prestige that they were signatories to all of his official documents—after that time only the Nasrid ruler of Granada remained. The ruler of Granada, Muhammad I al-Ghalib (r. 1232–1273), had already participated in the siege of Seville as Fernando III's vassal. His son, Muhammad II al-Faqih (r. 1273–1302), was particularly influenced by the court of Alfonso X, and probably replicated the organization of his scriptorium based on that of Alfonso X in Seville. Alfonso X was a patron of Mudéjar craftsmen, architects, and scholars both in his own territories and elsewhere. For example, the luxury textiles used in the Castilian court and church in the thirteenth century were of Muslim manufacture—likewise, all of the Castilian dignitaries, secular and ecclesiastical, were buried in Muslim silks.

et posteris uris iure hereditario habendas et irrevocabiliter possidendas. Cum pra

ffaziendum de eis quicquid uobis placuerit dando. uendendo. commutando. impignorando. uel quodlibet aliud facere

ne incurrat. et cum iudai dni pontifice penas infernales sustineat. et Regie iuris. Ego. duces in cur

Castilla. et Toledo hanc cartam fieri iussi. penam nemini nolente et confirmo. Et yo lo sobredicho Rey

la Infanta doña Berenguella. et la Infanta doña Beatriz. en Castiella. en Toledo. en Leon. en

go esto Priuilegio et confirmolo. Et mando q̃ nada ffue Cuemo dado en Tiempo del Rey don Alf

de Marco. En era de mill. et dozientos. et Honaenta. et Tres dinnos. en el dinno q̃ don Edoart fijo

bradecho. Don Alfonso de molina la ofe. Don ffrederich la ofe.

Don ffelipe electo de Seuilla la ofe. Don Sancho

Don John Arzobispo

Don Abrahadille Abenazar Rey de Granada uassallo del Rey la ofe. Don mahomath Abenmalo

Don Aznarno obpo de Burgos la ofe. Don Aymme gonz la ofe. Don Gaston bizcomde de b

Don Pedro de Palencia la ofe. Don Alfonso lopez la ofe. Don Gui bizcomde de lm

Don Simonde obpo de Sagonna la ofe. Don Egonz la ofe.

Don Pedro obpo de Segouia la ofe. Don Symon Lopez la ofe.

Don Gil obpo de Osma la ofe. Don Alfonso velez la ofe.

Don martye obpo de Cuenca la ofe. Don Fernando lopez de castro ofe.

Don benito obpo de Auila ofe. Don Pedro nunez la ofe.

Don Aznar obpo de Calahorra ofe. Don Hunno guillen la ofe.

Don lopez electo de Cordoua la ofe. Don Pedro guzman la ofe.

Don Adam obpo de Plazencia ofe. Don Pedro gonz el nunno la ofe.

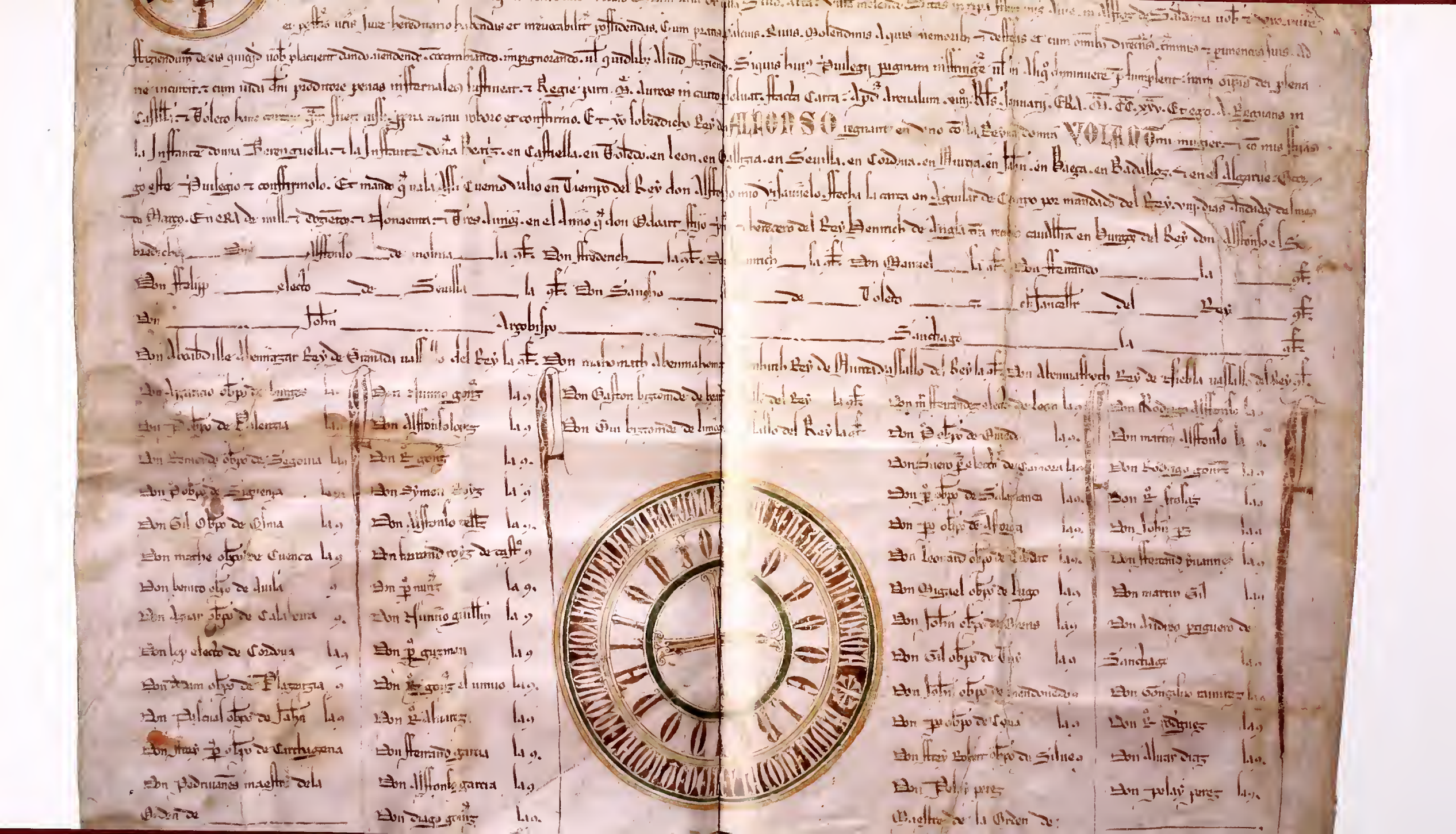
Don Pelayo obpo de Jaen la ofe. Don Pelayo alvarez la ofe.

Don Fray Pedro obpo de Cartagena Don ffernando garcia la ofe.

Don Pedro ruiz maestre de la Don Alfonso garcia la ofe.

Orden de Don Diego gonz la ofe.

[illegible] Alia: Nulla [illegible] Sicut [illegible] in [illegible] de Salamanca [illegible]
[illegible] Luis. Volendomis aquis nemoribus et cum omnibus [illegible] omnibus et pumenagis suis. Ad
Siquis huic paulegio pagnam infringere vel in aliquo diminuere vel implere: iram Dei plena
[illegible] Facta Carta: apud Arenalum. xviii. Kls. Januarii. Era. M. CC. xxv. Ego ego. Alfonsus in
ALFONSO regnante in uno cum Regina domna VOLANT uxore mea filias
[illegible] en Sevilla. en Cordoba. en Murcia. en Jaen. en Baeça. en Badajoz. e en el Algarve. Ego
[illegible] Dia Jaquelo. Facta la carta en Aguilar de Campo por mandado del Rey. vnp. dias andando el mes
[illegible] el Rey Henrich de Inglaterra en reino castilla en Burgos del Rey don Alfonso e el Rey
Henrich la ff. Don Manuel la ff. Don Fernando la ff.
[illegible] de Toledo [illegible] el Chancelle del Rey la ff.
Santiago la ff.
[illegible] Rey de Murcia vassallo del Rey la ff. Don Abenmudhed Rey de Sevilla vassallo del Rey ff.
vassallo del Rey la ff. Don Fernando Conde de Leon la. Don Rodrigo Alfonso la.
vassallo del Rey la ff. Don Diego obispo de Oviedo la. Don Martin Alfonso la.
Don Simon Poleto de Zamora la. Don Rodrigo Gomez la.
Don Pedro obispo de Salamanca la. Don Pedro Froilaz la.
Don Pedro obispo de Astorga la. Don Johan Pedrez la.
Don Leonardo obispo de Cibdad la. Don Fernando Juannez la.
Don Miguel obispo de Lugo la. Don Martin Gil la.
Don Johan obispo de Orense la. Don Diego Pelaez de
Don Gil obispo de Tui la. Santiago la.
Don Johan obispo de Mondonedo Don Gonçalo Ramirez la.
Don Pedro obispo de Coria la. Don Pedro Rodriguez la.
Don Frey Roben obispo de Silues Don Alvar Diaz la.
Don Pelay Perez Don Pelay Perez la.
Maestre de la Orden de



ALFONSO

VOLAO

Don Alcaboille Abenmazar Rey de Granada vassallo del Rey la ofe

Don Rodrigo Alfonso

Don Martin Alfonso

Don Rodrigo Gonçalez

Don Esteuan Fernandez

Don Johan Esteuan

Don Fernando Fernandez

Don Martin Gil

Don Diego Perez de Sanchiago

Don Gonçalo Ximenez

Don Esteuan Rodriguez

Don Alvar Diaz

Don Pelay Perez

37. TEXTILE FRAGMENT. Silk and gold threads. Found at Villalcázar de Sirga (Palencia), probably Granada, ca. 1270–74.

THE TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE

1086–1492

As a result of the Christian conquests in al-Andalus, scientific and philosophical knowledge began to be transferred from an Arabic-Islamic context to Latin Christendom. European scientists—many of whom flocked to Toledo in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries seeking "the learning of the Arabs"—coveted access to prized, scientific Arabic manuscripts. Translations were made of Arabic manuscripts including works on astrology, astronomy, mathematics, geometry, and philosophy, as well as historical and religious texts. The translators themselves were rarely Muslims; rather they were Mozarabs, the dominant group in twelfth-century Toledo, and Jews. Members of these two groups tended to be poor Latinists, and translations were usually made orally to a Latin scribe through the vernacular Romance. In the twelfth century, the earliest Latin translation of al-Khwarizmi's (ca. 800– 847) treatise on numbers begins *"Dixit alchoarizmi"* ("al-Khwarizmi said"), indicating an oral interlocutor between the Arabic text and the Latin translator. Some Arabic manuscripts must have come from royal and private Arab libraries in the conquered territories, while others originated in lands still under Muslim control. For example, the library of the Banu Hud of Zaragoza served as a source of works translated in the mid-twelfth century in Aragón. In Christian Spain, Arabic manuscripts that circulated among Jews tended to be works on medicine, botany, and philosophy, though often the copyists for those texts were Muslims.

38. PLANISPHERIC ASTROLABE.
Brass. By Muhammad b. al-Sahli, Valencia, 483/1090.

39. COMPENDIUM OF MATHEMATICAL AND ASTRONOMICAL TREATISES.

Brown ink and color on parchment. Spain, 13th century.

Reverse and interior plates, cat. no. 38.

Reverse and interior plates, cat. no. 40.

40. PLANISPHERIC ASTROLABE.

Brass. Al-Andalus, 12th–13th century.

41. *SEFER MUSRÉ HAFILOSOFIM* (BOOK OF THE MORALS OF PHILOSOPHERS).

Ink and color on parchment. Spain, 13th–15th century.

· THE NASRIDS ·

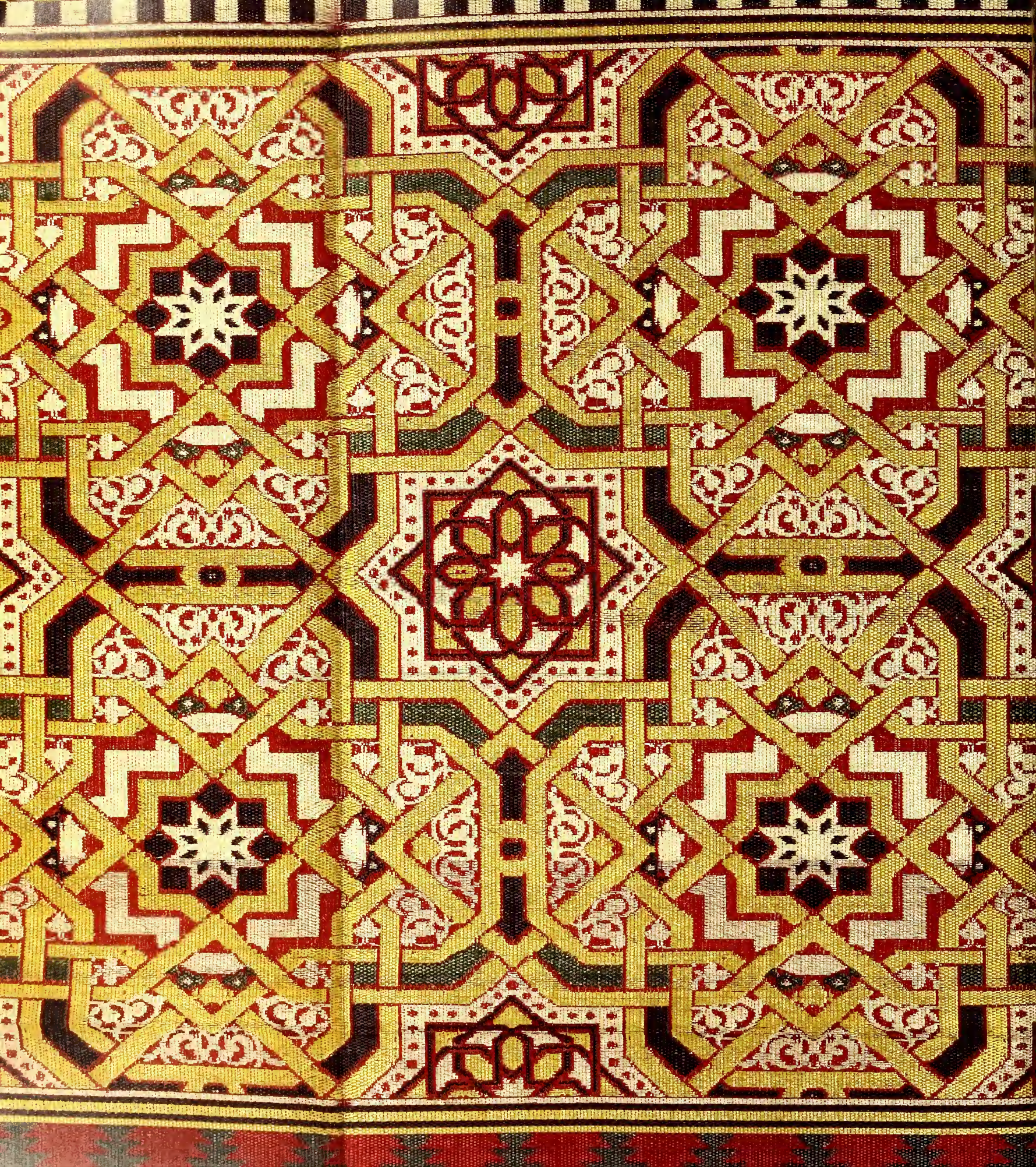
1232—1492

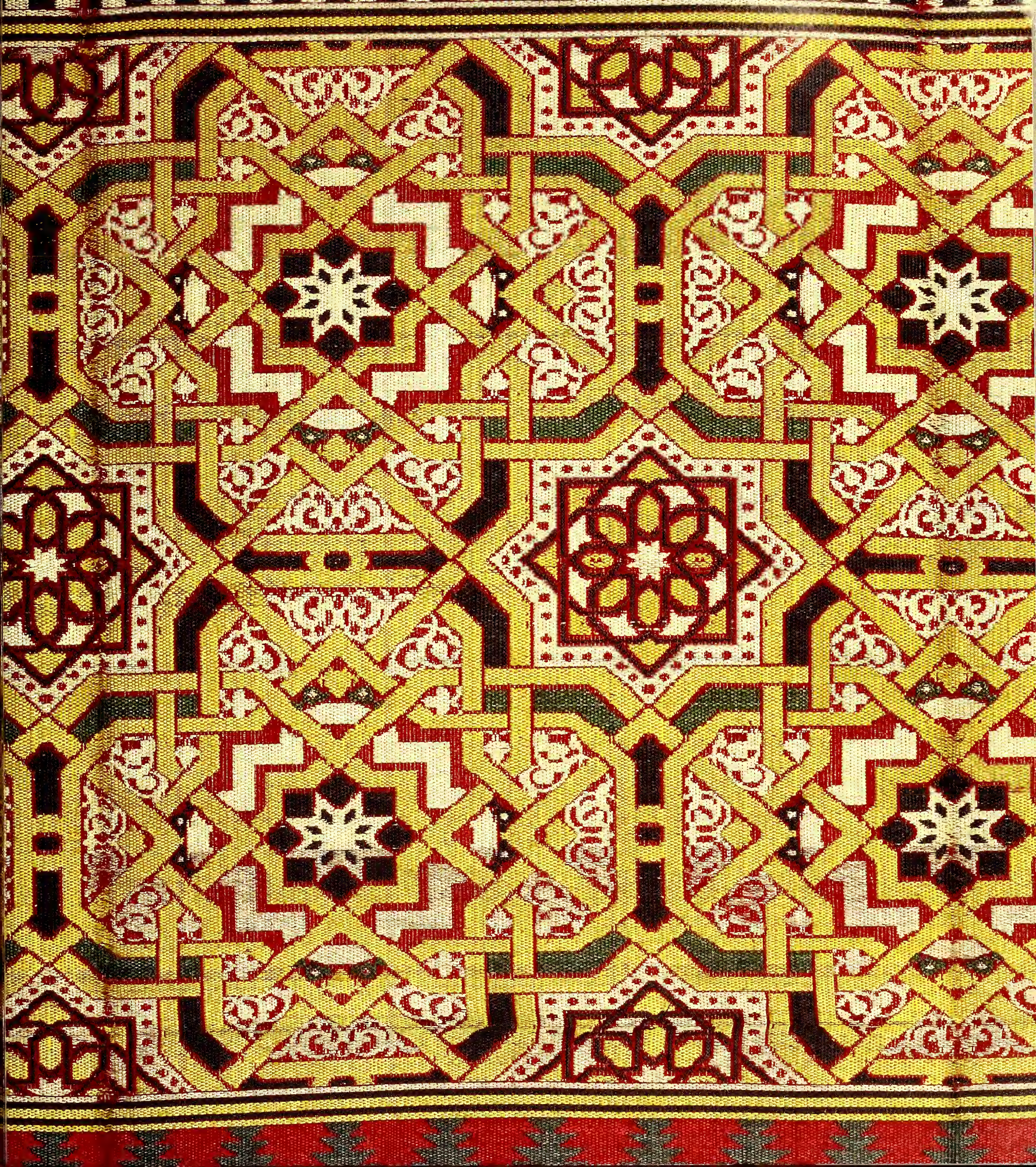
FOR OVER TWO AND A HALF CENTURIES, the Nasrid dynasty ruled the kingdom of Granada, the last Muslim political and military state in al-Andalus. The kingdom of Granada stretched from Lorca in the east, to Jaén in the north, and encompassed a number of important Mediter-ranean ports including Tarifa, Málaga, and Almería. Its borders were not constant, but rather expanded or contracted according to the political climate. The longevity of the Nasrids was remarkable despite the threats of almost constant warfare and political intrigue—few of the Nasrid sultans died natural deaths. Partly serendipitous, partly strategic, their survival was due to shrewd political compromises and alliances with Muslim and Christian partners on both sides of the Straits of Gibraltar. A certain fatalism pervaded the Nasrid outlook, epitomized by the dynasty's motto "There is no victory but in God" that appears on coins and in architectural inscriptions, and is evinced by numismatic legends that urge strength through patience.

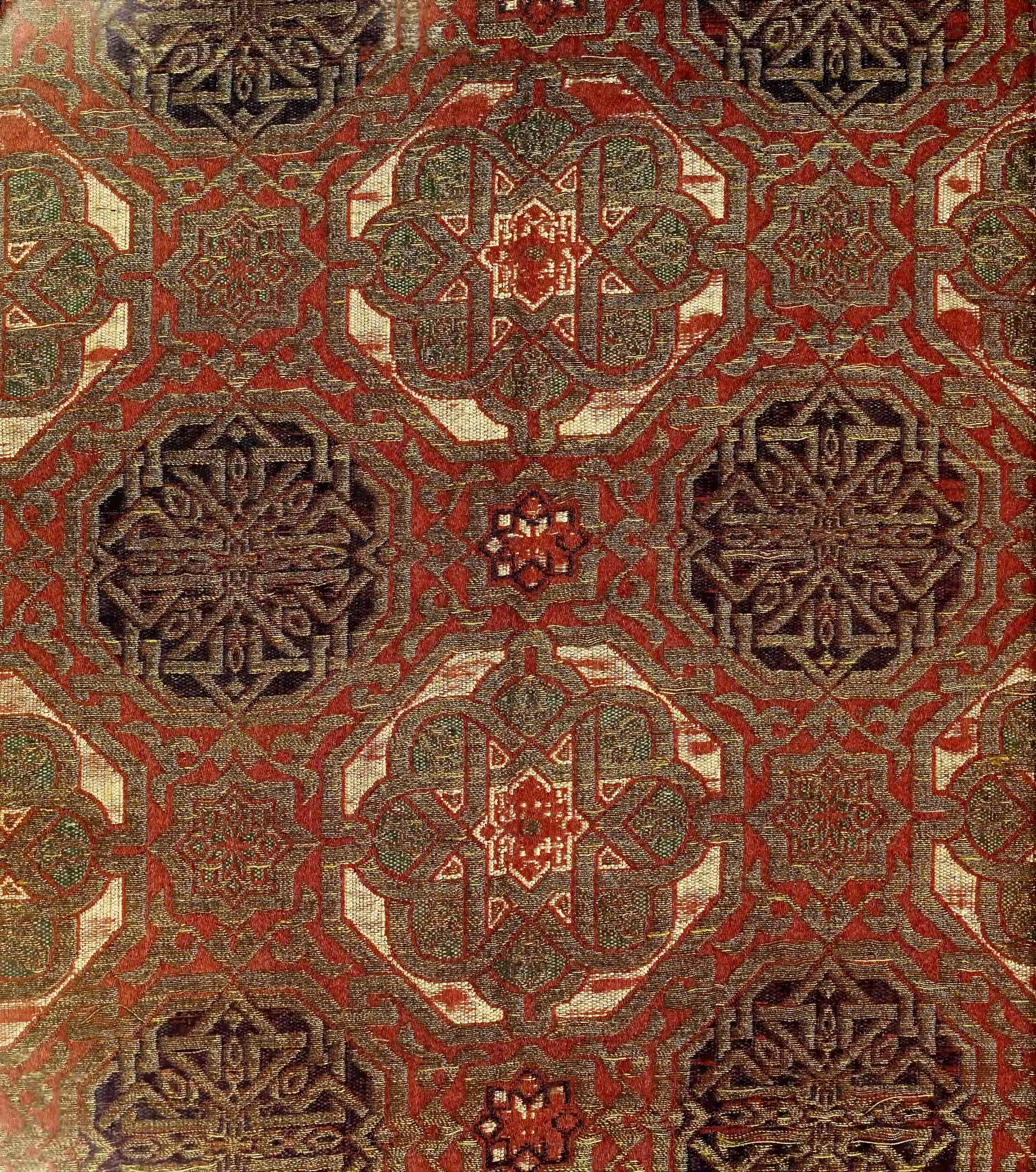
The first Nasrid sultan, Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Nasr (r. 1232–1273), came to power in the political vacuum created by the fragmentation of the Almohad state in the 1220s. Invited by Granada's elites to rule that provincial, mountain city in 1237, he set about establishing and strengthening the fortifications of its palatine city, al-Hisn al-Hamra (the Red Castle), on the Sabika hill. The fortified Alhambra palace would become a lasting and nostalgic symbol of Muslim endurance and of the spectacular luxury and refinement of the royal courts of al-Andalus. His son, Muhammad II (r. 1273–1302), completed work on the fortification of the Alhambra, establishing its perimeter wall, gates, and towers. He was the patron of palaces in the city of Granada, and at least one within the fortified Alhambra walls. Isma'il I (r. 1314–1325), a descendant of Muhammad I's brother, and his son, Yusuf I (r. 1333–1354), were responsible for building the Comares Palace, one of two main palace complexes at the Alhambra. This palace comprises a series of attendant buildings that lead to a large rectangular courtyard culminating in a spectacular, square reception chamber overlooking the escarpment of the Sabika. Perhaps the most spectacular complex at the Alhambra, the Palace of the Lions, was built during the peaceful and prosperous second reign of Muhammad V (r. 1354–1359, 1362–1391).

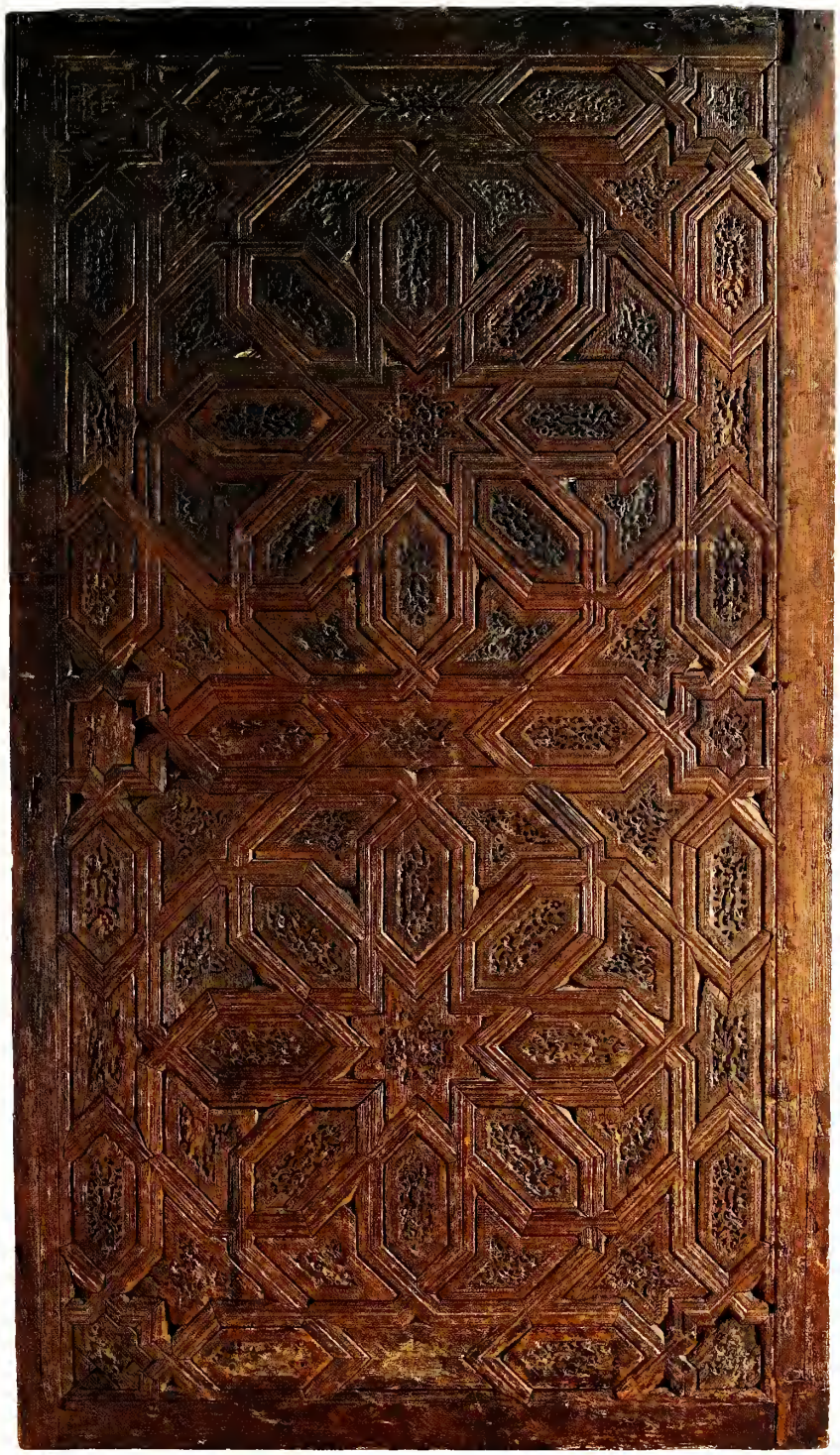
In the century that followed, the political and territorial power of the Nasrids declined, and Granada could not resist the combined aggression of Castile and Aragón—the last Nasrid ruler, Muhammad XII (r. 1482, 1486–1492), capitulated to his former allies on the strength of promises that were never kept.

42. TEXTILE. Silk threads. Granada, ca. 1400.









opposite (detail) **43. TEXTILE FRAGMENT.** Silk and gold threads. Toledo or Granada, ca. 1300.
above **44. DOOR.** Cedar wood, polychrome, and gilding. Probably Granada, 14th century.

MÁLAGA LUSTERWARE FOR THE NASRID COURT

The Nasrids employed various types of decorative ceramics at the Alhambra including cut-tile work, cuerda seca tiles, and lusterware. By the early fourteenth century, the lusterware industry in Málaga was so well established that it exported wares as far north as England and as far east as Egypt. For the Nasrid court at Granada it produced, among other items, an impressive number of large, amphorae-like vases that must have served as decoration in the palace complexes at the Alhambra and in other court settings. Only ten of these vases survive more or less intact, while excavated fragments hint at a much greater production. Some scholars have argued that the production of these vases began in the final decades of the thirteenth century during the reign of Muhammad II (1273–1302).

According to proposed chronologies, the earliest of the vases were decorated exclusively with metallic luster in decorative schemes resembling stucco work with bands of repetitive, monumental inscription. Later vases, perhaps from the fifteenth century, are decorated with elements painted in both cobalt and luster, and tend to reject the rigidity—but not the genre—of the earlier painting. Likewise, the inscription on one of the later vases, cat. no. 46, is not repetitive but poetic, and of a particular, autonomous genre found in wall panels at the Alhambra palace. Two intact and one fragmentary vase of the so-called Alhambra-type were discovered in the palace in the seventeenth century, while others were found in the city of Granada proper.

45. VASE NECK. Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Málaga (Kingdom of Granada), late 14th or early 15th century.

46. VASE. Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, later gold overpainting.
Málaga (Kingdom of Granada), 15th century.

From top left **47. DINAR (MITHQAL).** Gold. Granada, ca. 755–60/1354–91.

48. DINAR (MITHQAL). Gold. Granada, ca. 1419–53.

49. DOBLA. Gold. Seville, ca. 1312–50.

50. HALF-DOBLA. Gold. Castile and León, ca. 1312–50.

51. SIXTEEN DIRHAMS. Silver. Granada, ca. 692–897/1230–1492.

52. CAPITAL. Marble. Granada, ca. 1350–1400.

· MUDÉJAR CRAFTSMEN ·

1086–1520

THROUGH THE INCORPORATION OF Muslim lands into Christian kingdoms, the Mudéjars represented a significant sector of the heterogeneous population of Spain by the thirteenth century. Thus, a particular Muslim culture arose in Christian Spain that would excel in artistic production but would decline steadily in terms of population, wealth, language, learning, and prestige. This culture varied from region to region: In some rural areas it was largely agricultural, while in urban areas, Mudéjars specialized in light industry.

Mudéjar artisans worked in high concentrations in fields that included masonry and building, carpentry and cabinetry, plaster work, ceramics, metalwork, and weaving. Their most important patrons were the church, crown, nobility, and Jews. In cities such as Toledo, church towers as well as synagogues were built from the Mudéjars' materials of choice, brick and wood. Baptismal fonts, such as those made for the Mozarab churches in Toledo, were made by Muslim potters. In their brickwork, Mudéjar masons used windows and blind niches to break up the surfaces of complex geometrical solids, often incorporating glazed bricks to provide color contrasts. Mudéjar carpenters became masters in the art of constructing special wooden ceilings, in Spanish, *par y nudillo* or *artesonado.* This type of work relied on star-shaped geometrical designs worked out with a compass and rule, which were articulated through the intricate joining of small, wooden elements. Throughout the fifteenth century, master builders *(alarifes)* responsible for inspecting and maintaining the quality of buildings in cities such as Seville tended to be Mudéjars.

Mudéjar potters from Murcía—whose patrons included the Aragónese and Castilian crowns, bishops, the church, local nobility, and nobles across the western Mediterranean—established the great lusterware workshops of Manises, outside of Valencia. Even Isabel I and Fernando II of Aragón, the conquerors of Granada, commissioned lusterware dishes from Manises and carpets from Mudéjar weavers. The forced conversion of the Mudéjars (1499 in Granada, 1502 in Castile, and 1520 in Aragón) and the shift in taste toward Renaissance, or pan-European styles, at the end of the fifteenth century brought an end to the "Mudéjar style." In the early sixteenth century, all goods and styles associated with the Muslims were repressed in an effort to achieve political unity through cultural homogeneity, though the repeated calls for repression indicate lingering traditions.

53. BAPTISMAL FONT. Tin-glazed earthenware with green glaze. Toledo, ca. 1400.

54. DOOR. Poplar wood, traces of gesso, polychrome, and gilding. Seville, 15th century.

55. TEXTILE FRAGMENT. Silk Threads. Probably Toledo, 15th century.

56. TEN CORBELS. Oak. Toledo, 13th–14th century.

ILLUMINATED SACRED BOOKS

13th–15th Centuries

The convergence in the fifteenth century of illumination styles in Christian and Jewish sacred books in Spain is striking. One might assume that these holy manuscripts were not accessible to outsiders, unlike scientific manuscripts, but rather were isolated in the homes, synagogues, and churches of their owners. And yet, there was an exchange between scribes. This exchange must have taken place in the context of libraries or projects for which both Jewish and Christian experts were employed, such as the making of the Alba Bible, completed in the 1430s, or the workshops identified in Barcelona that produced both Latin and Hebrew manuscripts. Importantly, both Christian and Jewish scribal schools were under the influence of what had been formerly the dominant tradition in book-making: the making of Qur'ans and their illumination. In al-Andalus, the Qur'anic tradition was, until the fifteenth century, extremely conservative, so much so that it is difficult to distinguish Qur'ans made in the twelfth century and the thirteenth century on stylistic grounds alone. The main feature of the illumination of these usually square-format manuscripts is the rosette enclosed in a square frame. Both Gothic and Jewish illuminators of sacred books adopted this rosette. One of the most interesting techniques used in the illumination of Hebrew Bibles in Spain is micrography—miniature writing used to write commentary—which forms decorative patterns including rosettes, knot-work, and foliate patterns, all motifs taken from Islamic designs.

above and overleaf **57. QUR'AN FOLIOS.** Brown ink, opaque color, and gold on parchment. Spain or North Africa, 13th century.

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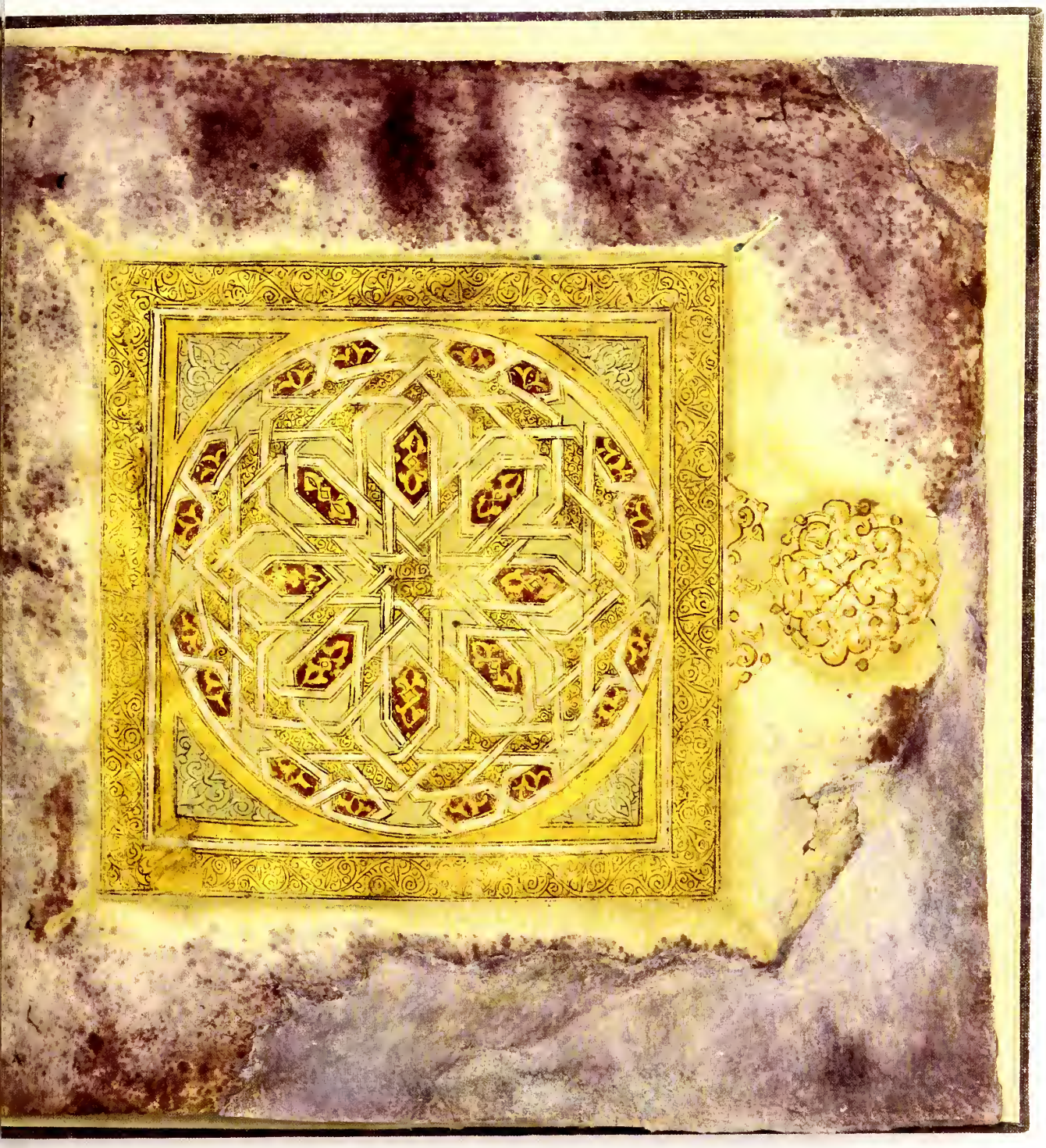
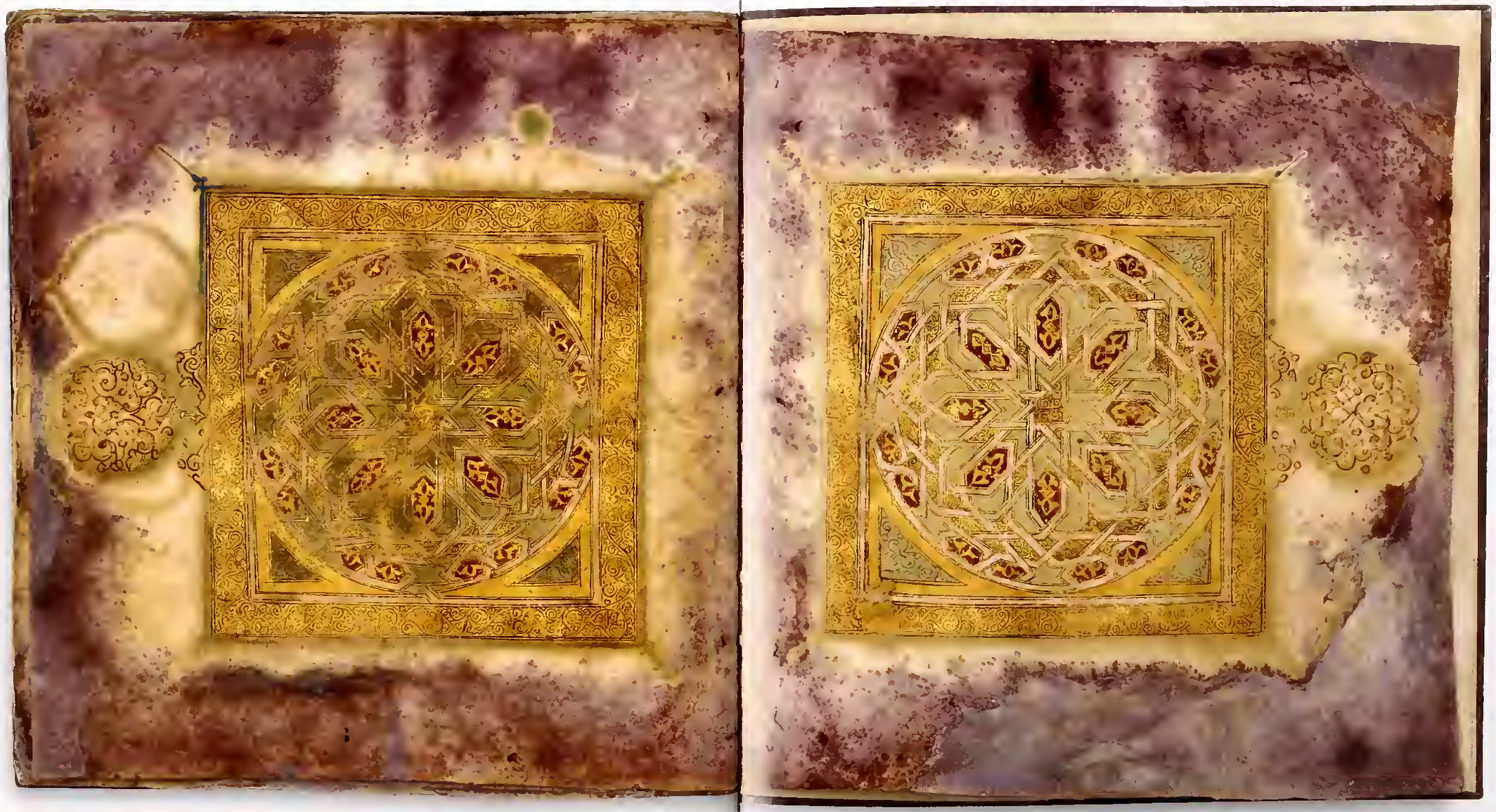
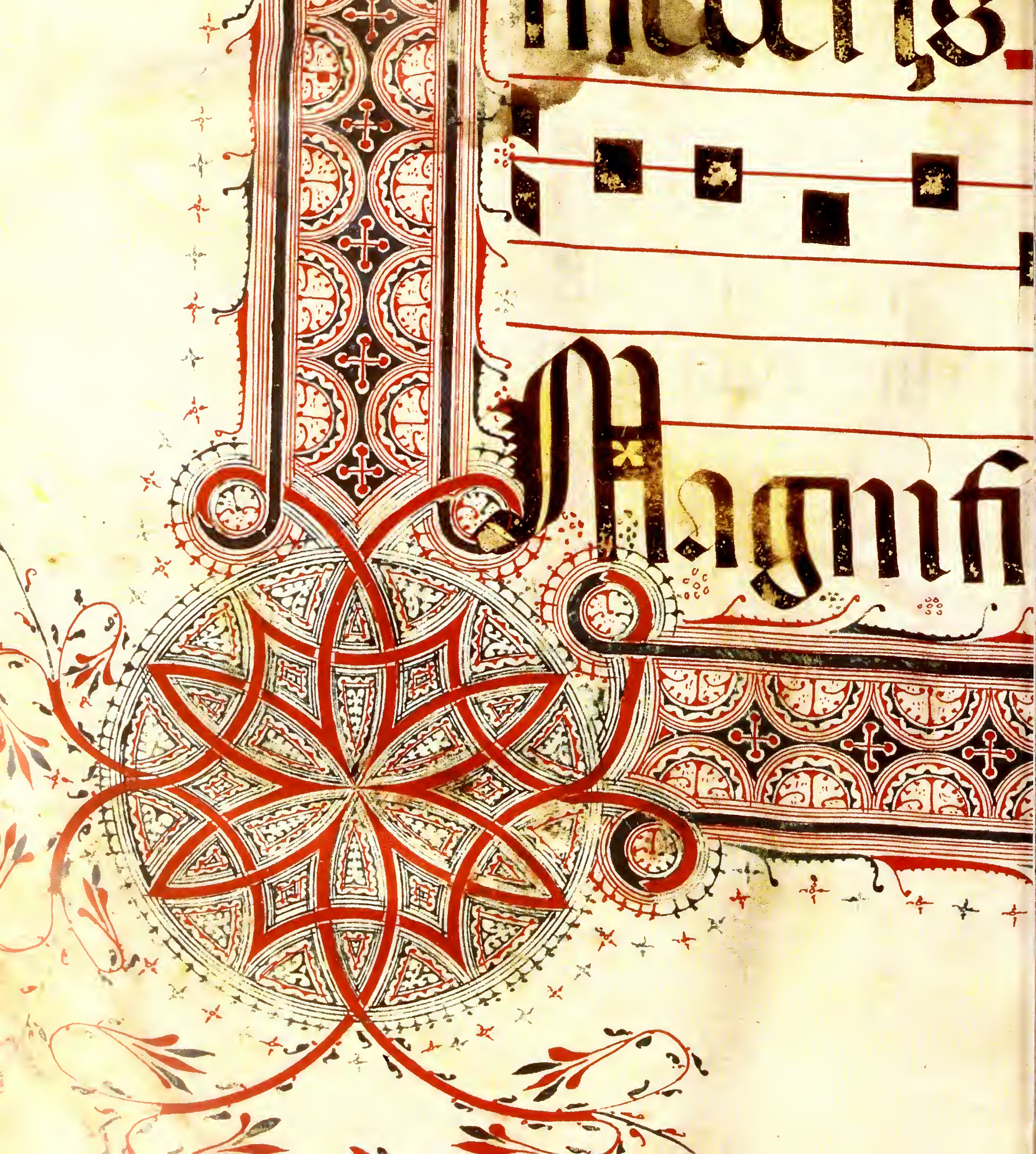
above and overleaf **57. QUR'AN FOLIOS.** Brown ink, opaque color, and gold on parchment. Spain or North Africa, 13th century.



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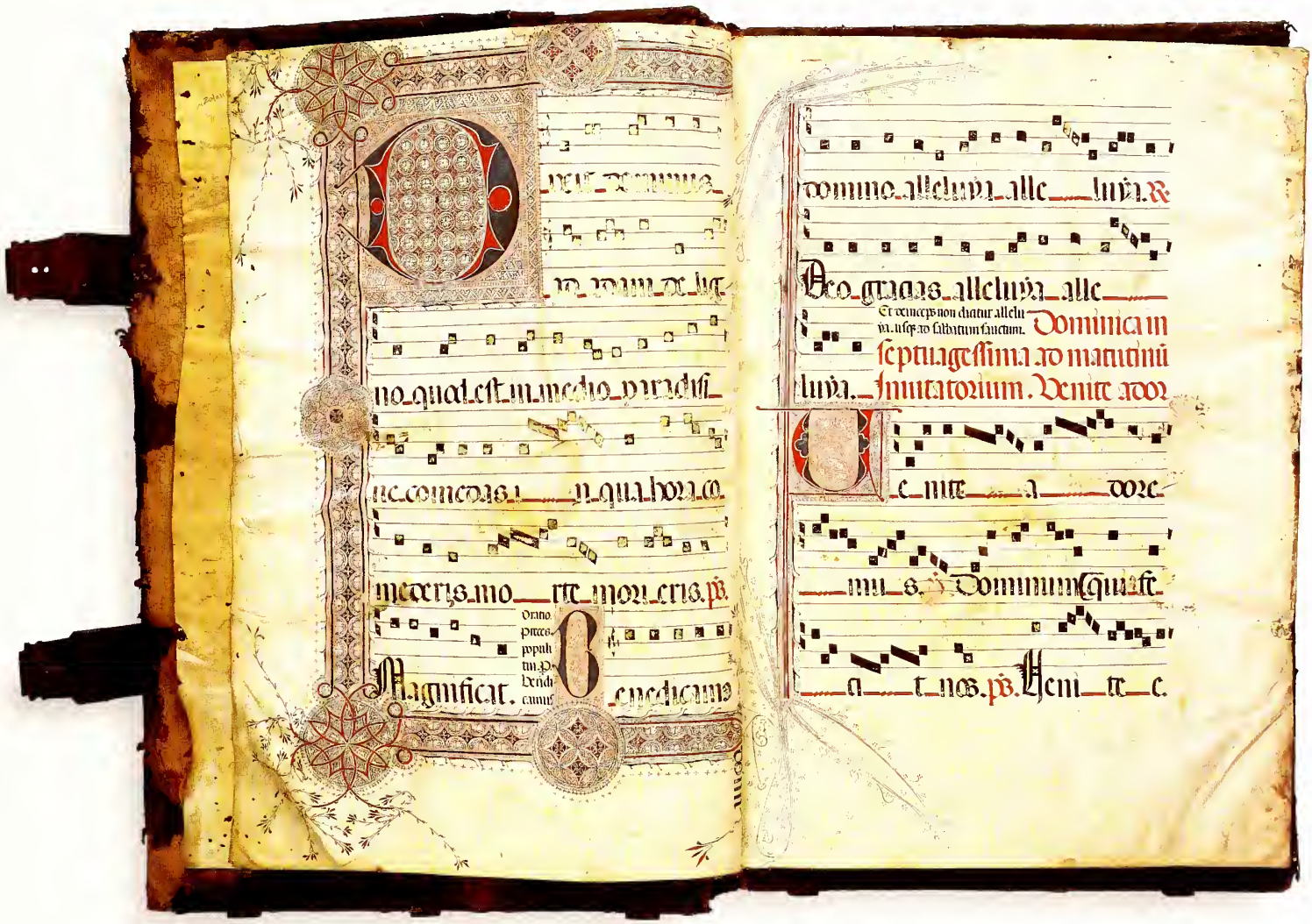
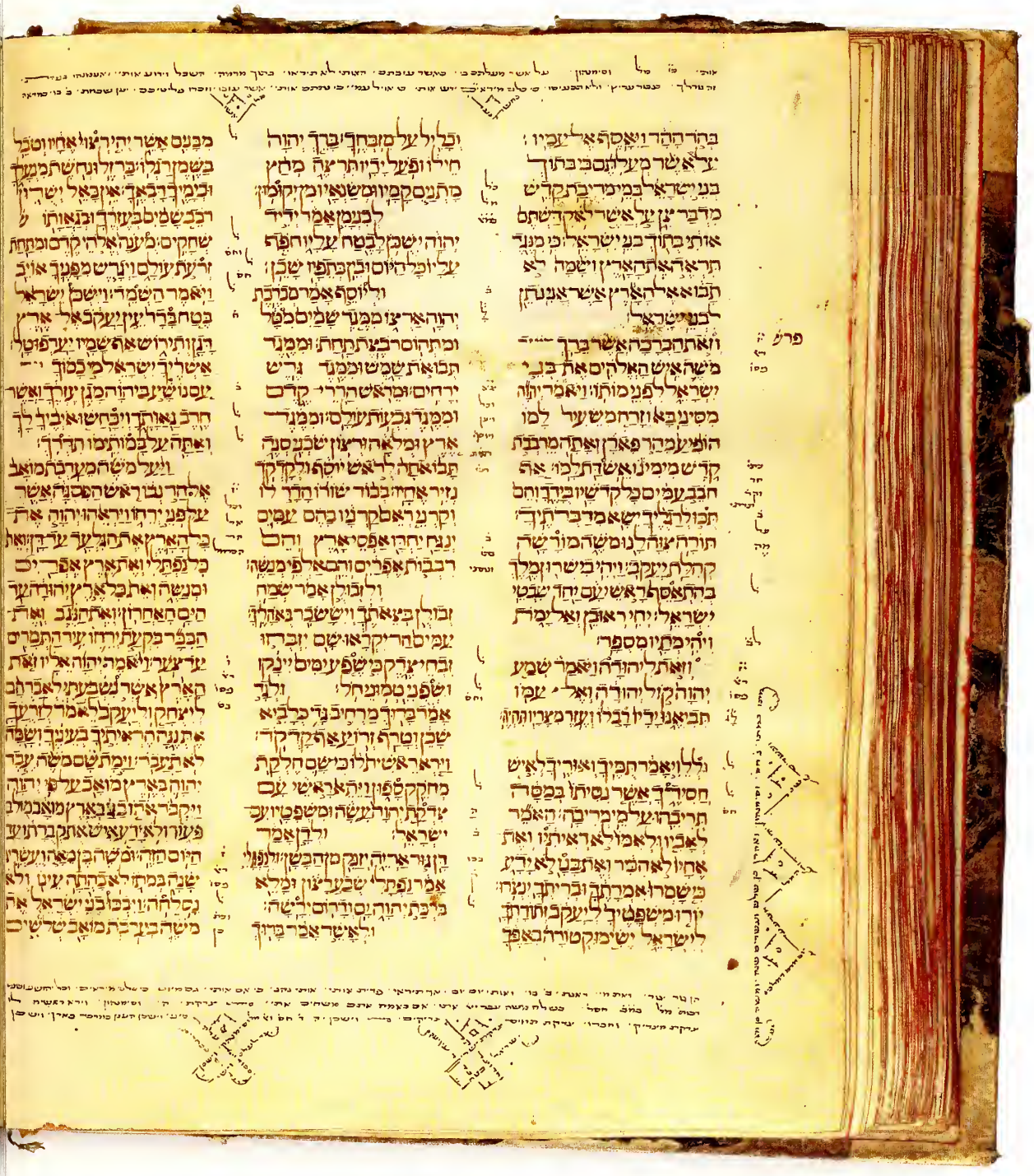


58. ANTIPHONARY. Ink and color on parchment, leather over wooden boards, and bronze fittings. Belalcázar (Córdoba), ca. 1476–1500.

ויסויתמון ימי בכי אבל משה ויהושע
בן נון מלא רוח חכמה כי סמך משה
את ידיו עליו וישמעו אליו בני ישראל
ויעשו כאשר צוה יהוה את משה׃
ולא קם נביא עוד בישראל כמשה
אשר ידעו יהוה פנים אל פנים׃ לכל
האתות והמפתים אשר שלחו יהוה
לעשות בארץ מצרים לפרעה ולכל
עבדיו ולכל ארצו׃ ולכל היד החזקה
ולכל המורא הגדול אשר עשה משה
לעיני כל ישראל׃



59. HEBREW BIBLE. Brown and black ink on parchment. By Moshe b. Ya'akov Qalif, Seville, 1472.

59. HEBREW BIBLE. Brown and black ink on parchment. By Moshe b. Ya'akov Qalif, Seville, 1472.

בראשית

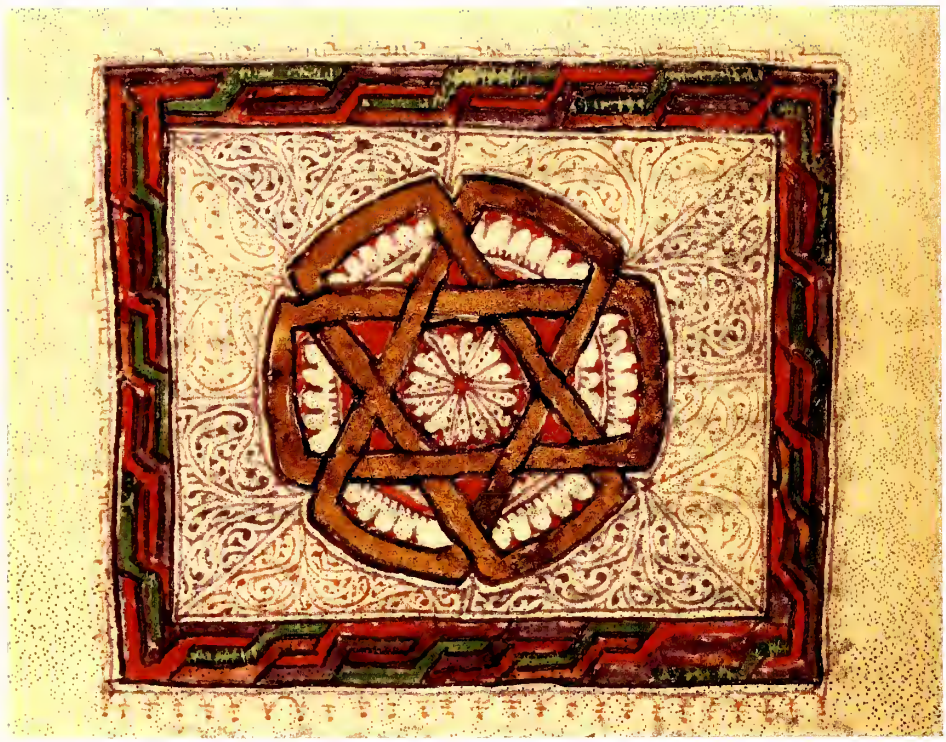
בראשית ברא אלהים
את השמים
ואת הארץ
והארץ היתה
תהו ובהו וחשך
על פני תהום ורוח אלהים מרחפת על
פני המים ויאמר אלהים יהי אור ויהי
אור וירא אלהים את האור כי טוב ויבדל
אלהים בין האור ובין החשך ויקרא
אלהים לאור יום ולחשך קרא לילה ויהי
ערב ויהי בקר יום אחד

60. HEBREW BIBLE. Ink, color, and gold on parchment. Spain and Portugal, 1450–96.

בראשית
בראאלהים
אתהשמים
ואתהארץ
והארץהיתה
תהוובהו וחשך
על פני תהום ורוח אלהים מרחפת על
פני המים ויאמר אלהים יהי אור ויהי
אור וירא אלהים את האור כי טוב ויבדל
אלהים בין האור ובין החשך ויקרא
אלהים לאור יום ולחשך קרא לילה ויהי
ערב ויהי בקר יום אחד

60. HEBREW BIBLE. Ink, color, and gold on parchment. Spain and Portugal, 1450–96.

Detail, cat. no. 59.



top Detail, cat. no. 60.

bottom Detail, cat. no. 58.

· MUDÉJAR LUSTERWARE ·

Manises, Circa 1320–1612

MUDÉJAR POTTERS IN MANISES, Paterna, and other villages outside of Valencia established workshops for the production of lusterware ceramics in the 1320s. Almost a century before, in 1232, the Almohad fiefdom of Valencia was conquered by Jaume I of Aragón. One assumes that local Mudéjar potters continued to produce wares in Valencia, though the earliest documented commission is dated 1285 in Paterna. The earliest documents describing lusterware from the 1320s call it "Málaga ware," presumably because immigrant potters from Málaga manufactured it. Pedro Buyl, lord of Manises, who had served a decade earlier as an emissary to Granada for the kingdom of Aragón, probably encouraged the rise of the lusterware industry. Buyl, it is argued, settled Mudéjar potters on his lands and made a fortune as a dealer in lusterware for noble clients, both local and Mediterranean. The quantity and prestige of those clients can be appraised from the heraldic shields that adorn their wares and through considerable surviving documentary evidence.

The shapes of these lusterwares are mainly open and cylindrical: bowls, plates, basins, dishes, pharmacy jars, and vases. Many of them were hand built from a robust earthenware clay; they were objects meant for everyday use. Their prestige was derived from the tin, cobalt, and luster painted on their surfaces. Manises lusterware was exported all over the Mediterranean, especially to Egypt and to Italy. In Italy, by the sixteenth century, it began to compete with majolica ware, a local ceramic industry which produced vessels that would become the quintessential luxury ceramic of the Renaissance. The early Italian majolica industry employed the same materials and shapes as the Valencian ware but quickly adopted figurative over-painting instead of the geometric and foliate patterns preferred by the Mudéjars. By the second half of the sixteenth century, the taste for Valencian lusterware had declined, and by the early seventeenth century its craftsman were expelled from Spain.

61. BOWL. Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises (Valencia), 1370s.

62. DEEP PLATE. Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, 1370s.

63. ALBARELLO. Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca. 1390.

64. JAR. Tin-glazed earthenware with luster. Manises, ca. 1450–75.

detail **65. PLATE.** Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca. 1450–75.

66. BASIN. Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca. 1425–50.

67. GALLERIED PLATE. Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca. 1430–70.

Reverse, cat. no. 67

above left **68. ALBARELLO.** Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca. 1430–70.
above right **69. BASIN.** Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca. 1450–70.
opposite (detail) **70. PLATE.** Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca. 1430–70.

opposite (detail) **71. PLATE.** Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca. 1435–75.
above **72. ALBARELLO.** Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, 1435–75.

detail **73. PLATE.** Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca. 1435–75.

74. PLATE. Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca. 1470–1500.

75. DEEP PLATE. Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca. 1480–1500.

76. PLATE. Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca. 1435–75.

77. PLATE. Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca.1480–99.


SVRGE DOMINE SVRGE DOMINE SVRGE DOMINE SVRGE DOMINE
SVRGE DOMINE SVRGE DOMINE SVRGE DOMINE SVRGE DOMINE

opposite (detail) **78. PLATE.** Tin-glazed earthenware with luster. Manises, ca. 1468–1516.
above **79. PLATE.** Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca.1400–30.

above **80. PLATE.** Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Manises, ca. 1500–25.

opposite (detail) **81. PLATE.** Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. Valencia or Cataluña, ca.1525–75.

THE CUERDA SECA TECHNIQUE

Cuerda seca (dry cord) is a technique for glazing ceramic objects and tiles that was employed in al-Andalus at least since the early eleventh century: Manganese ore is mixed with fat, wax, or grease, and painted in lines on the ceramic surface to create a cellular design. When fired, the glaze colors applied to each cell do not bleed as the manganese forms an unglazed border that keeps them separate. The technique allows for the application of multiple glaze colors on ceramics, and perhaps represents a cheaper and less-laborious alternative to cut-tile work *(alicatado)*, in which cut shapes of glazed tile are assembled into a mosaic. Cuerda seca also was applied to surfaces that were inappropriate for cut tiles, including floors and curved vessels such as bowls, brocales (well heads), and jars. Mudéjar potters in Toledo and Seville, the major centers of ceramic production, were responsible for the production of cuerda seca in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and created floor, wall, and ceiling tiles, as well as decorative objects. It was a labor-intensive art as each tile had to be designed and painted by hand. The technique was phased out in the sixteenth century by a false cuerda seca technique (cuenca or arista style) that employed molds to mass-produce tiles with raised ridges that separated the glaze colors. Tiles were an expensive and prestigious household decoration in the medieval period, but the arista technique meant that they could be made cheaply and were accessible to a wide social strata.

82. FLOOR TILE. Tin-glazed earthenware with cuerda seca decoration. Toledo, 15th century.

83. PLATE. Earthenware with cuerda seca decoration. Seville, ca. 1500.

84. PLATE. Earthenware with cuerda seca decoration. Seville, ca. 1500.

PATRONAGE OF MUDÉJAR ARTS IN THE KINGDOM OF ARAGÓN

15th–16th Centuries

By the mid-thirteenth century, the kingdom of Aragón had accumulated vast amounts of territory through conquest; its domain included Aragón, Cataluña with its capital at Barcelona, Zaragoza, Valencia, Denia, Murcía, and the Balearic Islands. Like their Castilian neighbors, the Aragonese were patrons of Mudéjar arts, which they encountered through the incorporation of Muslim lands. Excluding architecture, perhaps the most important areas of Mudéjar artistic production were textiles and ceramics. In Murcía, there appear to have been several major centers of Mudéjar carpet weaving at Letur, Lietor, and Alcaraz. The apogee of the industry was in the fifteenth century, and indeed one wonders if commissions from the crown of Aragón and its aristocracy revitalized it. The Mudéjar carpets from Murcía must have been highly prized, as they are among the oldest of medieval carpets to have survived from anywhere in the Islamic world.

Carpentry and furniture production were also Mudéjar arts, especially the art of decorative marquetry, which was popular in fifteenth-century Granada. What is interesting here is the similarity in cellulated design between a much-earlier carpet and an inlaid chest, which is now unique, but which must have been a common type in the sixteenth century. The carpets were clearly used for many centuries, and perhaps influenced a lingering taste for the Mudéjar style that was abandoned and actively repressed after 1511.

85. ARMORIAL CARPET. Goat hair. Letur (Murcía), ca. 1416–58.

Detail, cat. no. 85.

Detail, cat. no. 86.

86. CHEST. Walnut with ivory inlay. Probably Barcelona, ca. 1500–1600.

THE AGE OF EXPLORATION

Before 1492 and Beyond

THE YEAR 1492 IS REMEMBERED FOR three things: the Christian conquest of the kingdom of Granada, the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, and Christopher Columbus' discovery of the New World. These three events changed the Spanish and European outlook so much that what came before is often overlooked.

Seafaring, cartography, and discovery were not the unique province of the Spanish and the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, but rather had long been the preoccupation of their subjects, the Jews and the Muslims. There is some evidence that under the Almoravids, a naval expedition discovered one of the island clusters off the coast of Morocco, and a fourteenth-century expedition from Mali may have discovered the Amazon basin.

Cartography had long been the province of Arab geographers; the best known among them may have been the twelfth-century cartographer al-Idrisi (1099–1166) whose patron was the Norman king Roger II of Sicily (r. 1112–1154). The observations of Arab sea captains in the Mediterranean were eventually recorded in the thirteenth century in portolan charts, so called because they recorded ports and landmasses based on real observations, instead of cartographic projections. Most of the cartographers and instrument makers in the well-known Mallorcan school of cartography were Jews, including Cresques Abraham (1326–1387), a compass maker and map maker who drew the famous Atlas Catalán in 1375. After the pogroms against the Jews in 1391, many cartographers were *judeo-conversos*, Jewish converts to Christianity, among whom in the fifteenth century were well-known map makers such as Pere Rosell, whose work is illustrated here. One conceptual advantage that the Arab geographers and Jewish cartographers had is that they imagined the world as spherical, and understood that however distant the landmasses were, the whole world could be traversed horizontally. It is ironic that this scientific knowledge, transferred to Latin Christendom through the agency of Arabic translators, became fuel for the enterprise to find trade routes to India that would circumvent the Muslim Middle East and dispel Arab dominance over the seas. More ambitious plans were afoot: Emboldened by the apparent manifest destiny of the conquest of Granada, Columbus himself declared in his journals that the riches that he found in the lands that he believed to be Asian would aid his patrons, Isabel I and Fernando II in their aspiration to conquer Jerusalem. He covered his bases, however, and took Arabic translators with him on his voyages to the Americas. Later, the Spanish world view was formed from the data compiled by their sea captains in the sixteenth century, who each added to the Padrón Real, the secret world map that documented Spain's dominance over its colonies in the New World.

87. PORTOLAN CHART. Ink and color on parchment. By Pere Rosell. Mallorca, 1468.


malorqis
alcoll
boga
radis
alger
bristh
mellisa
alaudia
bedis
falle

88. MAP OF THE WORLD (PLANISPHERE). Ink and color on four sheets of parchment.
By Juan Vespucci. Seville, 1526.

88. MAP OF THE WORLD (PLANISPHERE). Ink and color on four sheets of parchment.
By Juan Vespucci. Seville, 1526.

Detail, cat. no. 88: The Americas.

Detail, cat. no. 88: The Mediterranean.

89. FIFTY EXCELENTES. Gold. Seville, ca. 1497–1504.

REFERENCE CATALOGUE

1
CAPITAL
Marble, gesso, polychrome, and gilding
Madinat al-Zahra', 960s
36.5 x 40 cm, base: 26.1 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, D216

Cat. nos. 1, 9, and 10
After he assumed the caliphate in 316/929, 'Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir li-Din Allah (r. 300–50/912–61), and later his son, al-Hakam II al-Mustansir bi-'llah (r. 350–66/961–76), engaged in an extensive, almost continuous building campaign. Their projects included new cities, fortifications, canals, bridges, and the restoration and expansion of monuments such as the Friday mosque of Córdoba. Judging from their expenditure on building projects, it is clear that architectural patronage, along with the army, were the preeminent concerns of the caliphate. Ibn Khallikan reported that 'Abd al-Rahman III divided the annual taxes of al-Andalus into three parts: one-third for the army, one-third for the treasury, and one-third for building projects.[1]

'Abd al-Rahman III initiated his palatine city Madinat al-Zahra' outside of Córdoba in 325/936 with the construction of its mosque, said to have been erected in forty-eight days by a thousand craftsmen. According to al-Maqqari, among them were three hundred builders, two hundred cabinetmakers (or stonemasons), and five hundred day laborers.[2] The expense of building Madinat al-Zahra' can be gauged from the cost of the materials—the sources say that 'Abd al-Rahman spent between three and ten dinars for every piece of marble and eight Sijilmasi dinars for every column; the imported columns alone are said to have numbered 4,033.

FIG. 1. *House of don Antonio Ramos, Córdoba. Photo by Anna M. Christian, ca. 1915. The Hispanic Society of America, New York, 14328.*

The materials used in the mosque and other buildings at Madinat al-Zahra' included marble from foreign as well as local sources, mainly Roman or Visigothic quarries that were reopened on a grand scale for the first time in nearly half a millennium—the Arabic sources describe white marble from Almería and variegated marble from Málaga.[3] Recourse to the old quarries enabled the Umayyad caliphs to initiate a design program based on extensive use of marble. They commissioned large, marble architectonic elements that matched in color, size, and style, unlike their predecessors who employed mismatched Roman and Visigothic spolia in their building projects, sometimes importing costly marble capitals and columns from abroad. The workshop that produced capitals and bases, such as these examples in the collection of the Hispanic Society, was a tightly controlled royal atelier. Inscriptions citing dates, patrons, overseers, and sometimes craftsmen on a large number of bases and capitals evince something of the administrative structure of the marble atelier, the continuity of its overseers (mainly manumitted eunuch slaves) and craftsmen (sometimes captives of war) over decades, the hereditary posts of the master craftsmen, and the links between construction at Madinat al-Zahra' and additions made to the Great Mosque of Córdoba.[4]

The capitals at Madinat al-Zahra' generally follow the Corinthian or Composite orders—cat. no. 1 is of the Composite type, and cat. no. 9 is of the Corinthian type. The proportion of both capitals is 3:5. The beauty of the carving,

typical of caliphal capitals, lies in their deeply drilled reliefs; the classicizing bead-and-reel motif on cat. no. 1 seems to be typical of capitals commissioned by al-Hakam II. Interestingly, cat. no. 9 remains unfinished and perhaps was abandoned when one of its volutes broke away. However, it gives an idea of working methods: The external shape of the capital was carved before any drill work was carried out, and the design to be drilled was drawn and stippled on the surface as a guide; the drill work then was approached from each of four sides and was finished before the next quadrant was begun. Cat. no. 1 has extensive gesso, polychrome, and gilding that must have been applied later, probably in an ecclesiastical context. Nonetheless, there is evidence from the fourteenth-century Alhambra palace that capitals were colored and gilded, and this may have been the case at Madinat al-Zahra' as well. Cat. no. 10, like many bases made at Madinat al-Zahra', is of the Attic order. It is set on a high plinth, and is proportioned 1:2. These column bases were probably conceived as pairs with their capitals, and the execution of the classicizing vegetal and geometrical surface decoration was accomplished, likewise, by careful drilling. Its massive size gives some impression of the size of the columns it supported and of the splendor of Umayyad caliphal architecture.

In 401/1010, during the *fitna* (unrest) that resulted from the break in the line of succession of the Umayyad caliphs, Madinat al-Zahra' was razed and its buildings burnt. The marble elements that survived the blaze were retrieved and reused as spolia by the successors of the Umayyads in both secular and religious foundations for the purpose of symbolic political and religious legitimation; capitals from Madinat al-Zahra' are also found in domestic contexts in Córdoba and elsewhere in Andalucía.

PUBLISHED Pijoán y Soteras 1917, frontispiece; HSA 1928b, pp.5–6, pl.1.

1. Al-Maqqari 1968, vol.1, pp.524–25, 569. According to Ibn Khallikan, the annual taxation of al-Andalus came to 5,480,000 dinars, and the market tax and *mustikhlas* (excise tax?) brought in 765,000 dinars.
2. Ibid., p.564.
3. Ibid., p.526, 568; Ibn 'Idhari 1951, p.246.
4. See Ecker 1992.

2
TREMISSIS

Gold
Toledo, ca. 694–710
1.52 g, diam. 19–20 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.57.615

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** ✠ IN DeI NominE VVITTIZA ReX (In the name of God, King Wittiza) *Type* Crowned portrait bust. **Reverse:** ✠ TOLETO PIVS (Pious Toledo) *Type* Square cross and vine.

The tremissis, corresponding to one-third of the contemporary solidus of Constantinople, was the only coin struck by the royal Visigothic mints in Spain since the reign of Leovigild (r. 569–86). Following Byzantine convention, the solidus was a seventy-second part of a libra, or pound of gold. Wittiza (r. 694–710), the penultimate Visigothic king, was a posthumous, pivotal figure in the Muslim conquest of Spain. After his death, the line of royal succession was disrupted: His three sons, Achila, Olmund, and Ardabast, were ousted and exiled from the Visigothic capital at Toledo by Roderic, a provincial duke—perhaps of the province of Baetica (Seville)—who was crowned with the support of a faction of nobles and bishops. According to one legend, in a vendetta with Roderic's supporters, Wittiza's sons and supporters made an alliance with the Muslim governor of Morocco, Tariq b. Ziyad, through the agency of Count Julian, the Visigothic governor of Ceuta. Tariq arrived in the peninsula the following year, defeated Roderic, and conquered Spain with the help of Berber troops and Spanish Jews, who had been persecuted under Visigothic rule.[1] Wittiza's reign, and sometimes also Roderic's reign, was portrayed by later, Spanish chroniclers as one of license and dissipation, for which the Muslim conquest was punishment, and the so-called Reconquest, an atonement.[2]

PUBLISHED Miles 1952, no.500c.

1. However, one must be careful in evaluating the historicity of the account of the support of the Jews in Spain, as it is a topos that appears in relation to many other conquests, such as the Persian conquest of Jerusalem a century earlier. See Raby 1999, pp.159–62.
2. Linehan 1993, pp.10–11; Kennedy 1996, p.13.

3
SOLIDUS (DINAR)
Gold (29%)
Spain, Indiction XI/94/713
3.51 g, diam. 11–12 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.57.1255

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** *Margin* In NomINe DomiNi Non [deus] NiSI SoLuS Sed DeuS Non Socius Deo (In the name of God, there is no god but God alone, none can be associated with Him) *Field* INDiCtione XI. **Reverse:** *Margin* IIIIXNNANPSNINIRFSDLSN [Retrograde: N[*sic*, *hic*] SoLiDuS FeRitus IN IN SPaNia ANNus XIIII] (This solidus was made in in [*sic*] Spain year X[C]IIII) *Type* eight-rayed star.[1]

Cat. nos. 3, 4, and 5
The conquest of Visigothic Spain by Tariq b. Ziyad in 92/711 can be perceived as an extension of the Muslim conquest of western North Africa. Legend, however, attributes the victory to alliances made with disgruntled Visigoths, namely the supporters of Wittiza, or the governor of Ceuta, Count Julian. Julian may have contributed to the conquest by supplying boats and military support. Musa b. Nusayr, governor of Ifriqiya probably since 79/698 and Tariq b. Ziyad's patron, crossed over into Spain in 93/712 and met Tariq at Toledo, where he reprimanded him for an unknown cause. Musa then continued the march with his army, conquering towns as far north as Zaragoza as well as towns in Navarra. The first coins minted in al-Andalus were closely modeled on those produced at mints in Qairawan and Carthage, and Michael Bates has argued that they must have been made by mint personnel brought from Qairawan by Musa b. Nusayr.[2] Interestingly enough, they have nothing in common with Visigothic coins, indicating the cessation of the Visigothic mints. The gold content of these solidi varies widely, and Bates has argued that they were made from melted booty of mixed precious metals.[3] These early coins retain some features of the pre-reform Umayyad dinars, for example the use of the pole on steps on the obverse and an eight-rayed star on the reverse. From 93–95, coins were minted in Spain exclusively in abbreviated Latin. Minting ceased in Spain until 97–98, as Musa seems to have returned to Ifriqiya with his mint personnel. In 97–98/716–17 a new mint was established in Spain, minting first in abbreviated Latin, and then, in both Latin and Arabic. The Latin inscriptions, in addition to providing the name of the place of manufacture, Spania, sometimes provide dates, according to both the Byzantine indiction and Muslim Hijri systems. The Umayyad *shahada* (credo)—*bi-smi 'llah, la ilaha ila allah, wahda, la sharik lahu*—is translated by the Latin inscription *In nomine domini non deus nisi solus sed deus non socius deo.* The symbol of the pole on steps and the star on some of these coins, often seen as mere adaptations of the Byzantine images of the cross at Golgotha, has been demonstrated by Nadia Jamil to be a completely reconfigured symbol of the Umayyad caliph and caliphal authority: The pole on steps represents a *qutb* (celestial axis), a synthesis of various tribal symbols of faith, covenant, and divine authority in rotation around the central figure of the Umayyad caliph. The polestar *(al-Jady)*, a northern element of the celestial sphere *(falak)* in rotation around the *qutb*, indicates the *qibla* (direction of reverence and prayer).[4] One might argue that these coins represent the earliest symbolic presence of the Umayyad caliph in Spain. The later issues of the fractional, purely Latin coins contain on both obverse and reverse the place and date of manufacture without the *shahada.*

PROVENANCE Gayangos Collection.
PUBLISHED Balaguer Prunes 1979, no.11.

1. I thank Michael Bates for his help in deciphering this inscription. The coin seems to have been struck from the same die as another in the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid. See Balaguer Prunes 1976, p.132, no.18.
2. Bates 1995; Bates 1990, pp.271–72, 276–78.
3. Bates 1992, p.384.
4. Jamil 1999.

4
HALF-SOLIDUS (HALF-DINAR)
Gold (85%)
Spain, 97–98/716–17
1.93 g, diam. 11–12 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.13162

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** IN Nomine DomiNI Non DeuS Nisi deuS SoLuS Non Deus sIniliS (In the name of God, there is no god but God alone, there is no God like Him) *Type* pole on steps. **Reverse:** FErITOS SoLIdus IN SPANia ANnus I (Solidus, made in Spain, year I [*sic*]) *Type* eight-rayed star.

See entry for cat. no. 3.

PUBLISHED Walker 1956, HSA 9; Balaguer Prunes 1976, p.148, no.56.




5
HALF-SOLIDUS
(HALF-DINAR)
Gold (81%)
Spain, 97–98/716–17
1.94 g, diam. 10–11 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.57.4935

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** FERITOS SOLIdus IN SPANia ANnus (Solidus made in Spain, year) *Type* pole on steps. **Reverse:** FErITOS SoLIdus IN SPANia ANnus I (Solidus made in Spain, year 1 [*sic*]) *Type* eight-rayed star.

See entry for cat. no. 3.

PROVENANCE Gayangos Collection.
PUBLISHED Codera y Zaidín 1879, no.12; Walker 1956, p.77, no.P48; Balaguer Prunes 1979, no.18.

6
DINAR
Gold
Al-Andalus (Córdoba), 102/720–21
4.34 g, diam. 20 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.13159

Cat. nos. 6, 7, and 8
INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God, alone. Muhammad is the messenger of God, who sent him with guidance and the religion of truth (Q 9:33). **Reverse:** In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. This dinar was struck in al-Andalus in the year a hundred and two.[1]

This unique, surviving group of three dinars in descending weights was issued in Córdoba a decade after the Muslim conquest of Spain by the Umayyad governor al-Samh b. Malik al-Khawlani (r. 100–2/719–21), who died the same year during a military campaign in southern France. They represent the first coins produced in the Iberian Peninsula inscribed wholly in Arabic, and follow the model of dinars struck in North African mints the same year.[2] They conform generally, although not exactly, to the type of dinars produced in Syria after the reforms of 77/696. The Syrian reformed dinars and contemporaries of these coins (like the contemporary Andalusi dirhams), generally contain part of the Surat al-Ikhlas (Q 112) on the reverse, while these Andalusi dinars contain the *basmala* invocation (In the name of God...) on the reverse and the Qur'anic description of Muhammad's prophetic mission on the obverse. The propaganda value of the Andalusi inscriptions is obvious, but not as strident as that of the Syrian dinars, which was intended as anti-Trinitarian in regions populated mainly by Christians. Why this propaganda was softened in al-Andalus at this time is not clear. Al-Samh b. Malik was appointed as governor of al-Andalus directly by the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (r. 99–101/717–20) and not by the governor of Qairawan, upon whom al-Andalus was politically dependent. As governor, al-Samh also constructed the stone bridge over the Guadalquivir in Córdoba.[3] His relationship with 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz may account for his attempt to bring the gold coinage of al-Andalus in line with that produced in the central Islamic lands.

PUBLISHED Miles 1948, no.72; Miles 1950, no.2a; Lévi-Provençal 1950–53, vol.3, pl.17, no.1; Walker 1956, HSA 10.

1. For Arabic texts, refer to appendix.
2. Bates 1992, p.384.
3. Molina 1994, pp.45–47; Chalmeta 1994, pp.259 ff.

7
HALF-DINAR
Gold
Al-Andalus (Córdoba), 102/720–21
2.13 g, diam. 16 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.13161

See entry for cat. no. 6.

PUBLISHED Miles 1948, no.73; Miles 1950, no.2b; Walker 1956, HSA 11.

8
THIRD-DINAR
Gold
Al-Andalus (Córdoba), 102/720–21
1.43 g , diam. 13–15 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.13212

See entry for cat. no. 6.

PUBLISHED Miles 1948, no.74; Miles 1950, no.2c; Walker 1956, HSA 12.

9
CAPITAL
Marble and polychrome
Córdoba or Madinat al-Zahra',
mid-10th century
Top: 37.5 x 37 cm; bottom: 25.5 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York,
D219

See entry for cat. no. 1.

PUBLISHED HSA 1928b, pp.7–8, pl.2.

10
COLUMN BASE
Marble
Córdoba or Madinat al-Zahra',
mid-10th century
20.2 x 44.5 cm; diam. 38.5 cm
HSA, New York, D350

See entry for cat. no. 1.

PUBLISHED HSA 1928b, pp.11–12, pl.4.

11
DIRHAM
Silver
Al-Andalus (Córdoba), 116/734–35
2.89 g, diam. 25 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York,
1001.57.4947

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God alone, none can be associated with Him. In the name of God, this dirham was struck in al-Andalus in the year a hundred and sixteen. **Reverse:** God is One, God is the Eternal; He begetteth not, nor is He begotten, and there is none like unto Him (Q 112). Muhammad is the messenger of God, He sent his Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth, to prevail it over all religion(s), even though the Associators may detest it (Q 9:33).

This dirham was issued in Córdoba by either the emir 'Abd al-Malik b. Qutn al-Fihri (r. 114–16/732–34) or 'Uqba b. al-Hajjaj al-Saluli, who replaced him as governor in 116/734. By 104/722–23, wholly Arabic dirhams, like the dirhams of Syria, were struck in al-Andalus. These silver coins and their copper counterparts were the currency used by the general population of al-Andalus. By this time, both the dirhams and the dinars in al-Andalus were inscribed with the Surat al-Ikhlas (Q 112) and verses from the Surat al-Tawba (Q 9) that discourage trinitarianism, perhaps to promote conversion to Islam, still a minority faith in the peninsula. The "Associators" in this case were not the pagans of Arabia, but rather the descendants of the Visigoths and their supporters, as well as the Visigothic clergy.

12
DIRHAM
Silver
Al-Andalus (Córdoba), 170/786–87
2.75 g, diam. 28 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York,
1001.57.1297

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God alone, none can be associated with Him. In the name of God, this dirham was struck in al-Andalus in the year a hundred and seventy. **Reverse:** God is One, God is the Eternal; He begetteth not, nor is He begotten, and there is none like unto Him (Q 112). Muhammad is the messenger of God, He sent his Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth, to prevail it over all religion(s), even though the Associators may detest it (Q 9:33).

This dirham bears identical inscriptions to cat. no. 11, struck over half a century earlier. It was issued toward the end of the emirate of 'Abd al-Rahman I b. Mu'awiya (r. 138–172/756–788), the Syrian survivor of the 'Abbasid massacre of the Umayyads, who established al-Andalus as an independent principality. While the inscriptions on 'Abbasid dirhams in the central Islamic lands had been changed some years earlier, the conservative tradition of Umayyad minting in al-Andalus surely indicates a concern with legitimacy through the maintenance of a formal tie with the former Umayyad caliphate in Syria.

PUBLISHED Miles 1950, no.61a.

13
DINAR
Gold
Al-Andalus (Córdoba), 317/929–30
4.13 g, diam. 19 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.14170

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God alone, none can be associated with Him. Muhammad is the messenger of God, He sent his Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth, to prevail it over all religion(s), even though the Associators may detest it (Q 9:33). **Reverse:** Muhammad is the messenger of God. Commander of the Faithful, 'Abd al-Rahman. This dinar was struck in al-Andalus in the year three hundred and seventeen.

On Ramadan 13/November 3 of the same year that he asserted his claim to the caliphate (316/928), 'Abd al-Rahman III ordered the reopening of the mint at Córdoba, which had not functioned for almost forty years. This dinar was struck at Córdoba the following year. There are two points of importance here. The first is that 'Abd al-Rahman was able to reopen the mint because he had seized control over the West African gold trade through political alliances with North African clients. The huge numbers of dinars cited in the sources (surely, at least a million in circulation) in reference to tax revenues and court expenditures illustrate the large quantities of gold flowing into al-Andalus at this time. The second is 'Abd al-Rahman's concern with his public image abroad, mentioned in the charter that he wrote to publicize his caliphate: "And for that, He has celebrated our reputation in far-away lands, and has advanced our power among the nations, and has announced us as the hope of the world. He has caused them to return to us from their deviation, and their rejoicing is because He has led them to seek protection from our State —if God wills." 'Abd al-Rahman III competed in the caliphate with the 'Abbasid caliph in Iraq and the Fatimid caliph in Ifriqiya; the minting of gold dinars bearing the caliphal title *amir al-mu'minin* (Commander of the Faithful) allowed him to declare his caliphate in all of the lands in which these coins circulated, certainly in the Mediterranean region and perhaps beyond.

PUBLISHED Miles 1950, no.187a; Lévi-Provençal 1950–53, vol.3, pl.17, no.3; Bates 1982, p.29, no.19.2.

14
DINAR
Gold
Madinat al-Zahra', 337/948–49
4.01 g, diam. 20 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.57.3383

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God alone, none can be associated with Him. Muhammad. This dinar was struck in Madinat al-Zahra' in the year three hundred and thirty and seven. **Reverse:** The Imam al-Nasir li-Din Allah (the Victorious in the religion of God) 'Abd al-Rahman, Commander of the Faithful. Muhammad is the messenger of God, He sent his Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth, to prevail it over all religion(s), even though the Associators may detest it (Q 9:33).

In 336/947, the main mint of al-Andalus was moved from Córdoba to Madinat al-Zahra'. This dinar is an example of the earliest gold coins from the new mint. On the reverse, 'Abd al-Rahman III added the additional caliphal title of *imam* (the spiritual leader of the Muslim community) and on the obverse, the name of the mint master, Muhammad. The design of the coin is slightly different than that of cat. no. 13, as it eschews the concentric circles around the central field, substituting a circle line formed by the letters of the marginal inscription itself, quite a masterful feat of die cutting. In addition, it includes two flowerlike stars on the reverse side, a feature that became typical of caliphal issues.

PUBLISHED Miles 1950, no.227a.

15
DIRHAM
Silver
Madinat al-Zahra', 338/949–50
3.29 g, diam. 23–24 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.14618

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God alone, none can be associated with Him. Muhammad. In the name of God, this dirham was struck in Madinat [al-Zahra'] in the year a hundred and thirty and eight. **Reverse:** The Imam al-Nasir li-Din Allah 'Abd al-Rahman, Commander of the Faithful. Muhammad is the messenger of God, He sent his Messenger with guidance and the religion

of truth, to prevail it over all religion(s), even though the Associators may detest it (Q 9:33).

This dirham is an example of the common silver coinage minted at Madinat al-Zahra' during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Rahman III. Its wear is an indication of extensive use. The two holes pierced in the coin once anchored a sliver of silver, found in other examples, which was probably used to increase its weight. While the content of the inscription is similar to that included on earlier Umayyad dirhams, the design is more elegant, with a smaller central field and two double circles enclosing the field and marginal inscriptions. As on contemporary 'Abbasid dirhams, in addition to the name of the caliph the inscription also contains the name of the mint master, Muhammad, on the obverse.

PUBLISHED Miles 1950, p.279, no.228a.

16
QUARTER-DINAR

Gold
Madinat al-Zahra', 363/973–74
1.04 g, diam. 13–15 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.14182

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God alone, none can be associated with Him. [Muhammad] is the messenger of God, He sent his Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth, to prevail it [over all religion(s)] (Q 9:33). **Reverse:** The Imam al-Hakam, Commander of the Faithful, al-Mustansir bi-'llah (he who seeks God's assistance). Yahya. In the name of God. [This] dinar [was struck] in Madinat al-Zahra' in the year sixty and three.

In the year this quarter-dinar was struck for al-Hakam II al-Mustansir, son of 'Abd al-Rahman III, he was fifty-eight years old and in declining health. The coin is similar in format and content and follows the same proportionate weight standard as the dinars of his father, and includes the name of the mint master, Yahya. Al-Hakam II ruled over a prosperous and stable empire in al-Andalus for only sixteen years, but was able to amass a public-access library of reputedly four hundred thousand volumes, amongst the largest assembled in the medieval world.[1] He gathered scholars of all types in Córdoba and Madinat al-Zahra', as well as an international group of architects who collaborated in the design and construction of one of the most impressive monuments of the tenth century: the extension on the *qibla* side of the Great Mosque of Córdoba. This extension was built, according to the thirteenth-century historian Ibn 'Idhari, because of the surge in the Muslim population of Córdoba, which reached its apex in this period and had outgrown the confines of the building.[2] In 366/976, a new *minbar* was completed —built of ebony, ivory, red and yellow sandalwood, and Indian aloewood; it became a model for other minbars commissioned by Umayyad's successors who sought legitimacy through association.[3] Al-Hakam continued the work of his father in the construction of Madinat al-Zahra' and was the patron of some of the most exquisite carved ivory pyxides made in this period (see cat. no. 18). His death in 363/973–74 provoked a crisis in the succession and power structure of the caliphate, and marked the end of real Umayyad potency in Córdoba. His heir, Hisham II, ruled in name only under the tutelage of his *hajib* (chamberlain) Muhammad b. Abi 'Amir al-Mansur.

PUBLISHED Miles 1950, no.256j.

1. Wasserstein 1990–91.
2. Ibn 'Idhari 1951, vol.2, pp.233–34.
3. Ibid., p.250; Ibn 'Idhari 1904, vol.2, p.413.

17
DINAR

Gold
Al-Andalus (Córdoba), 388/998
4.02 g, diam. 24 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.57.3043

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God alone, none can be associated with Him. Muhammad. In the name of God, this dinar was struck in al-Andalus in the year [three hundred] and eighty and eight. **Reverse:** The Imam Hisham, Commander of the Faithful, al-Mu'ayyad bi-'llah (he who is supported by God), regent. Muhammad is the messenger of God, He sent his Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth, to prevail it over all religion(s), even though… (Q 9:33).

This dinar was issued for Hisham II (r. 366–99/976–1009), son of al-Hakam al-Mustansir, when he was thirty-two years old. The key to Hisham's sad predicament is the word *'amil* (regent) after his title. Hisham inherited the caliphate at the age of ten and fell under the tutelage of his chamberlain, Muhammad b. Abi 'Amir al-Mansur. He was never able to assert his political authority over al-Mansur or his sons, the 'Amirids, who

succeeded him in the *hijaba* (institution of the chamberlains) and ruled as a de facto, parallel dynasty. Little is known about Hisham's life other than his quasi-political role as the legitimator of the 'Amirids and their successors, and he is said to have spent his time collecting relics. Court intrigue suggests that he abdicated and feigned death in 399/1009 only to be reinstalled the following year as caliph, though the story smells of fiction. What is clear is that by 403/1013 Hisham was murdered, though the crime may have been perpetrated three years earlier. There is a certain sloppiness in the striking of this dinar that seems to reflect a loss of control of the public image of the caliphate, certainly corresponding to Hisham's case.

PUBLISHED Miles 1950, no.313a.

18
PYXIS
Ivory with chased and nielloed silver-gilt mounts
Madinat al-Zahra', ca. 355/966
16 x 10.1 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, D752

INSCRIPTION The sight that I offer is the fairest of sights, the still firm breast of lovely young woman. Beauty has bestowed upon me a robe clad with jewels, so that I am a vessel for musk and camphor and ambergris; [made by] Khalaf.

The Hispanic Society pyxis is one of a series of ivory boxes and other objects that were produced for the Umayyad court at Madinat al-Zahra'. Belonging to the private sphere of the Umayyads and their high officials, these luxurious objects appear to have been made as gifts to mark significant occasions. The earliest dated boxes were made in the 350s/960s, although textual evidence suggests that they may have been produced as early as the 320s/930s. The initiation of their production may have coincided with 'Abd al-Rahman III's self-elevation to the caliphate in 316/929 and the founding of Madinat al-Zahra'. By this time, 'Abd al-Rahman had also gained control of the North African trade in gold and ivory through his Berber clients. Many of these ivory objects were preserved later in church treasuries as reliquaries, while others have been housed in private collections. This pyxis has been documented since its exhibition in Paris in 1869 at the *Exposition des Beaux-Arts Appliqués à l'Industrie*. It was acquired by Archer Huntington and presented to the Hispanic Society in 1914.[1]

Unique among these early ivory boxes, the inscription on the pyxis does not name its recipient, but rather offers an autonomous inscription in the form of a short, erotic poem. The object not only speaks in the first-person, it also praises itself and describes its function. This autonomous device reappears continuously in Andalusi art, and in this catalogue is paralleled by an inscription on a fourteenth-century "Alhambra" vase (cat. no. 46).

In addition to the evidence provided by the inscription, there is some textual evidence that the Umayyad ivory boxes were intended to hold personal perfumes and incense. 'Abd al-Rahman III's chronicler Ibn Hayyan described a gift sent by the caliph to his Maghribi Berber client Musa b. Abi al-'Atiyya in 322/934: The gift comprised "nine pyxides and caskets filled with diverse perfumes" among them "a pyxis of white ivory [filled] with incense seasoned with ambergris; another ivory pyxis with silver hinges which contained a small 'Iraqi vessel filled with an excellent perfume of musk and ambergris *(al-ghalia);* a third casket of ivory with silver hinges and a flat lid [filled] with royal perfumes."[2] The demand for ivory must have been constant. In 381/991, Musa's descendant, Zuhayri b. al-'Atiyya, sent Hisham II a tribute payment of eight thousand pounds of raw ivory.[3]

In a recent study, Francisco Prado-Vilar has argued for encoded signs in both the inscriptions and iconography of the ivory boxes.[4] In this sense, it is possible to read polyvalent meanings in the Hispanic Society pyxis. Prado-Vilar, following Holod, has argued convincingly that the pyxides containing floral, foliate, and faunal iconography without human figures were most likely made as gifts for women.[5] Khalaf signed one other ivory casket with foliate decoration, preserved in a parish church in Fitero (Navarra); the inscription states that the casket was made *li-ahibbi waladati* at Madinat al-Zahra' in 355/966. A second, similar ivory casket was also made, according to its inscription, in the same year *li-ahibbi waladati* (Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid). This phrase has been interpreted in two ways: "for the most beloved Walada" and "for the most beloved of fertile women."[6]

While the fact that no figure named Walada has been documented at the Umayyad court in the 960s does not exclude the first translation, the second appears more likely in the contemporary political context. Al-Hakam II's foremost difficulty, when he succeeded his father 'Abd al-Rahman III in the caliphate in 961, was that he had no heir and

thus could not assure the caliphal line of succession.[7] The birth of a son, 'Abd al-Rahman, to al-Hakam's Basque concubine Subh in 962 was a cause of great rejoicing and is documented in a gift, an ivory pyxis commissioned by al-Hakam for Subh in 353/964 (Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid), which calls her "the lady, mother of 'Abd al-Rahman." Al-Hakam's second son, Hisham, was born to Subh in 965. It is possible then, as Prado-Vilar has argued, that both caskets destined "for the most beloved of fertile women" were presented to Subh in 966 to celebrate the birth of Hisham.[8]

Against this background, the Hispanic Society pyxis can be read a number of different ways. First, it can be surmised from its floral and foliate carving that it was made as a gift for a lady at court. Second, its inscription can be interpreted as a celebration of both desire and fecundity: The object assumes the identity of its intended owner, who is both a beautiful young woman, and potentially fertile, a receptacle for royal perfumes. The equation of jeweled ivory with the desired body of a lover can be traced to the Song of Songs 5:14 in which a male lover's belly is described as "polished ivory overlaid with sapphires" and in 7:5 a female lover is told "thy neck is as a tower of ivory." Unusual in Arabic poetry, this trope was modified by the sixth-century Christian Arab poet 'Amr b. Kulthum, who wrote in his well-known *mu'allaqa*: "The tender breast is like the lid of an ivory, which is protected from those who would touch it."[9] 'Amr b. Kulthum's verses were compiled in the tenth century by Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahani in his monumental collection of pre-Islamic verse, the *Kitab al-Aghani*, the first copy of which was acquired, according to Ibn Khaldun, by al-Hakam II for a thousand dinars.[10] Thus, the poem on the pyxis, which refers to a pre-Islamic verse preserved in a volume precious to the caliph, takes on a personal character. Whether its intended recipient was Subh, court favorite and recipient of other objects made by Khalaf, is not certain, but surely, it is a possibility.

PROVENANCE Toussaint-Joseph Bauer, Paris; John Malcolm of Poltalloch; L. Harris, London.

PUBLISHED Magasin Pittoresque 1870, p.5; Gildemeister 1870, pp.115–27, pl.1; Assas 1876, p.113; Burlington Fine Arts Club 1879, p.45, 270; Riaño 1879, p.139; South Kensington Museum 1881, no.596; Le Bon 1884, p.601, fig.324; Leguina y Vidal 1912, p.49; Malcolm 1913, p.12, no.18; Kunz 1916, p.45; Migeon 1926, pl.41; Hispano-Moresque Ivory 1927, pp.26–29, pl.1; Gómez-Moreno Martínez 1927, p.5, fig.14; Ferrandis 1928, p.69, pl.9; Ferrandis 1935–40, no. 9, pp.64–66, pls.12–13; Caskell 1936, pp.35–36, pl.4; Ettinghausen and Grabar 1987, pp.145–62, fig.130; Beckwith 1960; Holod 1992, pp.43, 196; Prado-Vilar 1997, pp.21–22, fig.4; Rosser-Owen 1999, p.19.

1. It was exhibited in London by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1879; it has been exhibited continuously at the Hispanic Society and was recently featured in the exhibition *Convergence and Diversity*, 2003.
2. Ibn Hayyan 1981, pp. 238–39, 264–65; Marinetto Sánchez 1987, pp.47–48; Rosser-Owen 2002, p.172.
3. Holod 1992, p.43; al-Maqqari 1968, vol.2, p.191. See Cutler 1985, p. 51.
4. Prado-Vilar 1997.
5. Ibid., p.21; Holod 1992, p.191.
6. Ferrandis 1935–40, pp.61–62, no.7; Lévi-Provençal 1931, p.187, nos. 197, 198.
7. In fact, the problem of legitimate Umayyad succession became the major cause of the decline of the caliphate and the fracturing of the central authority of Córdoba after 422/1031.
8. Caution should be applied in this case, as there is evidence that at least one other of al-Hakam's concubines gave birth to a son who, apparently, did not survive. This lady, Shukra al-Balatiyya, died sometime after 366/976 and is called on her tombstone *umm ibn al-Hakam*, the mother of a son of al-Hakam. Lévi-Provençal 1931, pp.26–27, no.19.
9. Rosser-Owen 1999, p.28 n13.
10. Wasserstein 1990–91, p.99.

19
BASIN

Marble
Probably Seville, 11th century
Top: 28.5 x 80.5 cm; bottom: 45 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, D213

INSCRIPTION In the name of God. Complete blessing and double gifts and continual graces and conspicuous felicity and splendid safety and lasting health and pure integrity and steady uprightness and protecting (?) might and overwhelming authority and speedy success and powerful help and victory over the enemies and long life and support and [...] to its owner—long be his life![1]

This square basin belongs to a series of secular marble basins that were first produced at Madinat al-Zahra' and later copied by the 'Amirid chamberlains and eleventh-century taifa kings. The basins were used as elegant and impressive receptacles for water and aquatic plants and as fountains in semiprivate court settings; a spectacular description of marble basins

used as fountains mounted with silver artificial trees survives from the court of the taifa king al-Ma'mun (r. 435–67/1043–75), in Toledo.[2] The total number of surviving basins and fragmentary examples from the tenth and eleventh centuries is approximately twenty. Unlike capitals and bases that are repetitive in conception, these basins are made in a variety of shapes and have unique decorative schemes.

The prominent features of this basin—one hesitates to call them unusual when there are so few surviving examples—are its massive size, the use of negative space in the conception of its undercut, bas-relief decoration, the remains of a carved relief on its rim, and its long, benedictory inscription. Emphasizing its aquatic function, the basin has a large drainage hole cut into the center of its base, now plugged with lead, which perhaps is original to its manufacture. Two other drainage holes, one filled with a lead tube, must be later additions. On the fourth side, there is a plain, vertical band which indicates that the basin was made for a particular setting, probably against a pilaster that may have concealed the plumbing.

Only one other surviving basin, though considerably smaller and rectangular in shape, has straight, sloping sides on the exterior and vegetal decoration in relief like this basin, but with a curved profile in the interior—Antonio Fernández Puertas has attributed it to the tenth-century Dar al-Na'ura palace in Córdoba, although Mariam Rosser-Owen has suggested that it might have been late-antique or Visigothic spolia reused by the Umayyads.[3] However, the relief carving on that basin rises well above the exterior flat surface, while on the Hispanic Society basin the two are almost level because of undercutting. Another basin (Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba), perhaps dating to the 'Amirid period, has a similarly truncated, inverted pyramidal shape, if rectangular, but its relief carving is entirely different. It seems clear, however, that the shape of the Hispanic Society basin is attested in both the Caliphal and 'Amirid periods.

Rosser-Owen has argued that the Hispanic Society basin must be post-'Amirid and was probably made for one of the taifa rulers based upon its inscription. First, the inscription is rather long and excessive in its good wishes, corresponding to an increased titulature and wordiness used in inscriptions by taifa rulers in inverse proportion to their real political power. Secondly, the inscription contains the word *ta'yid* (support), which in 'Amirid inscriptions was used to evoke the honorific title of the caliph Hisham II al-Mu'ayyad bi-'llah (He who is supported by God), but lacks the immediate pairing with the word *nasr* (victory), evoking the 'Amirid chamberlain Muhammad b. Abi 'Amir's honorific title al-Mansur (the Victorious One), as used in 'Amirid inscriptions. The inscription also contains a number of unusual benedictory phrases that are not found in caliphal and 'Amirid inscriptions, but are more commonly included in objects made for taifa rulers.[4] Cynthia Robinson has also suggested that inscribed objects from the taifa period without named patrons may have been made for wealthy elites who emulated the luxury objects of their rulers.[5] The inclusion of the word *ta'yid* close to the end of the inscription seems important as it links the object with Hisham and by extension with Córdoba, and the wishes for authority and victory over enemies seem to indicate a figure with political power. Most of the taifa rulers emulated Córdoba—some conquered it—and sought legitimacy through ties with the Umayyad caliphate and its last hereditary caliph, and one might propose that that is the case here. Possible patrons include taifa rulers such as the Jahwarids of Córdoba, al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbad of Seville, the Hammudids who ruled in Córdoba, or Yahya al-Ma'mun of Toledo. As the basin was purchased by Archer Huntington from a dealer in Seville (José Irureta Goyena), 'Abbadid patronage seems likely.

PUBLISHED HSA 1928a; Caskel 1936, p.37, no.55, pl.55; Gómez-Moreno Martínez 1951, p.191.

1. Translation after Caskell 1936.
2. Rosser-Owen 2002, p.196; Robinson 1995, pp.448–59; Robinson 2002, pp.53–54; Ibn Bassam 1975, vol.5, pt.7, pp.147–48.
3. Museo de la Alhambra, Granada R.E. 4491. Mariam Rosser-Owen, personal communication, 2003.
4. Ibid; in general, Rosser-Owen 2002. See for example Dodds 1992, p.219, no.16.
5. See Dodds 1992, p.214, no.13.

20
DINAR

Gold
Al-Andalus, probably Córdoba, 412/1021–22
3.91 g, diam. 22 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.57.3898

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God alone, none can be associated with Him. Heir apparent. In the name of God, this dinar was struck in al-Andalus in the year four [hundred] and twelve. **Reverse:** The Imam, al-Qasim al-Ma'mun (the Trustworthy), Commander of the

Faithful, Hassan. Muhammad is the messenger of God, He sent his Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth, to prevail it… (Q 9:33).

This dinar was issued, perhaps at Córdoba, by al-Qasim al-Ma'mun b. Hammud, the brother of 'Ali al-Nasir b. Hammud (r. Ceuta 400–8/1010–17). The Banu Hammud were of noble lineage, descended from Idris, a great-great-grandson of the righteous caliph, 'Ali. 'Ali al-Nasir b. Hammud was appointed governor of Ceuta by the Umayyad upstart caliph Sulayman al-Musta'in in 403/1013. The relationship between the Hammudid dynasty and the dwindling Umayyad caliphate of Córdoba was made more intimate when 'Ali b. Hammud turned against Sulayman, accused him of murdering the caliph Hisham II, proved it by disinterring the late caliph's body, and ceremoniously declared himself caliph in Córdoba in 407/1016. His preferential treatment of the Zanata Berbers in Córdoba led to local Arab dissatisfaction and his substitution by his brother al-Qasim b. Hammud, heretofore governor of Seville. Challenged only briefly by 'Abd al-Rahman IV al-Murtada (a grandson of 'Abd al-Rahman III, r. 408/1018), al-Qasim ruled as caliph in Córdoba until 412/1021 when the Berber faction replaced him with his nephew Yahya al-Mu'tali, the eldest son of 'Ali b. Hammud. In this dinar from the final year of this three-year period, al-Qasim names an heir apparent, surely one of his sons and not his rival nephew, Yahya. The format of the coin follows the model of the dinars of the Umayyad caliph Hisham, in the inclusion of a flower above the central inscription on the obverse, and in the use of a beaded border. Like the dinars of Hisham, this coin is not as carefully registered as the dinars produced by 'Abd al-Rahman III; however, the content of its inscription is largely the same. Hassan, cited in the inscription, was the mint master.

21
DINAR
Gold
Seville, 465/1072–73
3.66 g, diam. 25 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.13140

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** The Chamberlain. There is no god but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God. Siraj al-Daula. In the name of God this dinar was struck in the city of Seville in the year [four hundred] and sixty and five. **Reverse:** Al-Mu'tamid 'ala Allah (the Support of God) the Imam, 'Abd Allah, Commander of the Faithful, the Supporter of God's Victory. Muhammad is the messenger of God, He sent his Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth, to prevail it over all religion(s) (Q 9:33).

This dinar was issued by the taifa king of Seville, Muhammad II b. 'Abbad al-Mu'tamid (r. 461–84/1069–91), when he was approximately thirty-two years old. Most of the taifa kings sought legitimacy through the imitation of Córdoba and the Umayyad caliphate, and here the dept to Córdoba is clear in the choice of honorific titulature *(laqab)* and the use of the caliphal title Imam *'Abd Allah Amir al-Mu'minin.* The great number of names and titles on this coin—including that of al-Mu'tamid's chamberlain, Siraj al-Daula—was in inverse proportion to the size of al-Mu'tamid's kingdom. A year before this coin was issued, however, al-Mu'tamid had annexed Córdoba to his territory, and it is possible that he saw himself as a legitimate heir to the Umayyads. Al-Mu'tamid, a poet-king, is associated with three major dramas in the eleventh century. The first was that of the rise and fall of the poet and politician Ibn 'Ammar (422–76/1031–84), al-Mu'tamid's childhood companion and perhaps lover, whom he executed by his own hand for political betrayal. The second is the romance between al-Mu'tamid and his beloved, the poet-slave I'timad al-Rumaykiyya whom he purchased from her muleteer master after falling in love with her clever verses. It is said that al-Mu'tamid took his honorific title from her name. The third is al-Mu'tamid's unfortunate end at the hands of the Almoravid ruler Yusuf b. Tashufin, whom he had invited to al-Andalus in 1086 to rescue the taifa kings from the rapacious demands and attacks of Alfonso VI, king of Castile and León (see cat. no. 25). Al-Mu'tamid fought Alfonso VI at Zallaqa with Yusuf b. Tashufin, and invited him personally to return to al-Andalus in 1088, saying prophetically that "he would rather be a camel driver in Morocco than a swineherd in Castile." Yusuf conquered al-Andalus for himself and deposed the taifa kings, exiling al-Mu'tamid with his family to Morocco where he was imprisoned at Aghmat. Al-Mu'tamid died impoverished and humiliated in chains.

PUBLISHED Miles 1954, no.572.

22
MANCUS (DINAR)
Gold
Barcelona, ca. 1035–76
2.27 g, diam. 26–27 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.13206

Cat. nos. 22 and 23
INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** Al-Qa-, There is no god but God alone, none can be associated with Him, -sim. **Reverse:** Heir apparent, the Imam Yahya al-Mu'tali bi-'llah (He who exalts in God), Commander of the Faithful. Idris.

These two coins, almost identical, originate from a common source. They were issued for the count of Barcelona, Ramón Berenguer I (r. 1035–76), and although quite degenerate, imitate the dinars of the Hammudid ruler Yahya al-Mu'tali, which date between 412/1021 and 413/1023 when he was elevated briefly to the caliphate in Córdoba (see cat. no. 20).[1] These imitations postdate the better quality mancusi issued by the Jewish-Catalan gold merchant Bonom (Shem Tob), who is recorded in both documentary sources and inscriptions on imitation dinars issued for Count Ramón's father, Berenguer Ramón I (r. 1017–35).[2] The English word "mancus" signifies an imitation Arab gold coin and is derived from the Latin *mancus* (deficient, light). Ramón Berenguer's imitation dinars are lighter in weight than the Hammudid originals, and are approximately three-fifths and four-fifths the weight of al-Qasim al-Ma'mun's dinar (cat. no. 20), respectively. It was probably not a coincidence that Hammudid coins were chosen as a model by the counts of Barcelona: Both al-Qasim al-Ma'mun and Yahya al-Mu'tali were elevated twice to the caliphate in Córdoba between 1018 and 1025. During these years, the caliphate was already a politically hollow institution, but it still retained the symbolic charge of legitimate rule. On these coins, Yahya calls himself "imam," employs the caliphal title *Amir al-Mu'minin* (Commander of the Faithful) and cites his noble ancestor, Idris (d. 175/791), a great-great-grandson of the caliph 'Ali, and the founder of the Idrisid dynasty in Morocco. That symbolism must have still carried some weight in Barcelona, and in the Mediterranean region, when these coins were issued more than a decade later. Likewise, it was probably the breakup of the centralized political power of the caliphate that allowed the gold trade to be diverted to northern towns such as Barcelona, providing the raw material with which to mint gold coins for the first time in several centuries.

1. See Balaguer Prunes 1999, pp.369–70, types 21 and 22, pp.396–99, type 26; both al-Qasim al-Ma'mun and his nephew and rival, Yahya al-Mu'tali, issued coins at Málaga, Córdoba, and Ceuta.
2. Miles 1962.

23
MANCUS (DINAR)
Gold
Barcelona, ca. 1035–76
2.89 g, diam. 23–24 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001. 57.4121

See entry for cat. no. 22.

PUBLISHED Miles 1962, pl.19, no. 7 (misnumbered as 57.2149).

24
BILINGUAL MANCUS (HALF-DINAR)
Gold
Barcelona, ca. 1035–76
1.91 g, diam. 20 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.13160

Like cat. nos. 22 and 23, this coin, issued by the count of Barcelona, Ramón Berenguer I, is a degenerate imitation of a dinar of the Hammudid Yahya al-Mu'tali. On the reverse, the marginal legend bears the retrograde Latin inscription RAIMVNDVS COMES (Count Raymond).[1] Lighter than the two previous coins, its weight is equivalent to two-fifths the weight of al-Qasim al-Ma'mun's dinar (cat. no. 20)—an unusual proportion, as the Umayyad caliphs issued only dinars and quarter-dinars.

PUBLISHED Miles 1962, pl.19, no. 9.

1. Miles 1962, p.692; Balaguer Prunes 1999, pp.400–1, type 27.

25
DINAR
Gold
Sanluka (Sanlúcar de Barrameda), 491/1097–98
4.12 g, diam. 25.5 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.57.4071

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God. The Amir Yusuf b. Tashufin. If anyone desires a religion other than Islam, never will it be accepted of him, and in the Hereafter he will be in the ranks of those who have lost (Q 3:85). Amen.

Reverse: The Imam 'Abd Allah, Commander of the Faithful. In the name of God, this dinar was struck in Sanlúcar in the year four [hundred] and ninety and one [reverse].

This dinar was issued by the Almoravid ruler Yusuf b. Tashufin (r. al-Andalus 1088–1106) at the mint of the coastal town of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, one of thirteen active mints in al-Andalus during his reign.[1] Yusuf b. Tashufin, leader of the Sanhaja Berber confederation known as the *al-murabitun* (the garrisoned) was invited to al-Andalus in 1086 from his base in Marrakech by a consortium of representatives of the taifa principalities in order to defend them from attacks by Alfonso VI. There were several factors of importance: By 1080, Alfonso VI was exacting enormous tribute payments from the taifa kings and had invaded their territory as far south as Tarifa. He laid siege to Toledo in 1080, and conquered it toward the end of 1085, illustrating definitively to the taifa kings that they could not defend their own borders. In addition, the trend of conversion of Muslims to Christianity following the conquest of Toledo was a huge social threat and one of the major stimuli for support of Yusuf b. Tashufin among the taifa kings, who perceived him as Alfonso VI's only worthy opponent.[2] In Safar 479/June 1086, Yusuf disembarked at Algeciras and, in the company of Maghribi and Andalusi troops, marched toward Badajoz, where the forces of Alfonso VI were defeated at Zallaqa. Much appreciated at first, in both the Muslim west and the east, Yusuf b. Tashufin was praised by the eleventh-century writer Ibn Bassam al-Shantarini in the following terms: "God rewarded the Prince of the Muslims (Amir al-Muslimin) and Protector of the Religion *(Nasir al-Din),* Abu Ya'qub Yusuf b. Tashufin, and conferred upon him compensation of the beneficent ones, with which he nourished the breath of life and relieved the suffocation [of the peninsula]. He connected this peninsula with a cable [to the Maghrib] and took upon himself, upon its invitation, to rescue what was in it [the peninsula] from sorrow and distress until he overthrew the thrones of the polytheists. And God's command appeared though they were averse (Q 9:48)."[3] After Zallaqa, Yusuf b. Tashufin returned to Marrakech, but in 1088 conquered al-Andalus, removing the taifa rulers from power by 1094. The mainly gold coins issued in al-Andalus by Yusuf b. Tashufin approximate the weight of one mithqal (4.25 g). With respect to the dinars of the taifa rulers, they tend to be large and well formed, with clear calligraphy, with one plain circle enclosing the central inscription, and another encircling the marginal legend. The inclusion of Q 3:85 in the inscription, perhaps the most important change introduced in Almoravid coinage, indicates both a confrontational message of the superiority of Islam over other religions—understandable in the context of war—but also a message of Sunni orthodoxy that confronted the Shi'a in North Africa, particularly the Fatimids.[4]

1. Kassis 1997, p.305.
2. Kassis 1990, p.89.
3. Ibn Bassam 1979, vol.4, pt.1, pp.168–69.
4. Kassis 1997, pp.307–8.

26
DINAR

Gold
Valencia, 504/1110–11
3.97 g, diam. 25 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.57.2613

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God. Commander of the Muslims, 'Ali b. Yusuf. If anyone desires a religion other than Islam, never will it be accepted of him, and in the Hereafter he will be in the ranks of those who have lost (Q 3:85). **Reverse:** The Imam 'Abd Allah, Commander of the Faithful. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, this dinar was struck in Seville, in the year five h[undred] and four.

This dinar was issued by the Almoravid ruler 'Ali b. Yusuf b. Tashufin (r. 1106–42) at Valencia, one of twenty mints in al-Andalus during his reign.[1] It bears both the inscriptions and design of the dinars of his father, with some refinements in calligraphy—for example, the use of floriated Kufic. One principal change is the use of the title *Amir al-Muslimin* (Commander of the Muslims), never used by his father. Some scholars have argued that it was used by 'Ali b. Yusuf out of respect for the 'Abbasid caliph (in this period, al-Mustazhir), the only figure entitled to use the caliphal title *Amir al-Mu'minin* (Commander of the Faithful) according to orthodox Sunnism. 'Ali b. Yusuf inherited a vast empire from his father comprising territories in both al-Andalus and North Africa, but faced with unpopularity among the people of al-Andalus—particularly after 1120—continuous attacks from Christian forces from the north, and challenges from the Masmuda Berbers in southern Morocco, he was unable to maintain political control except by proxy and bequeathed to his son Tashufin b. 'Ali a rather limited empire in Morocco. The Almoravids who came to al-Andalus as orthodox reformers and soldiers, were resented for their Berber origins, lack of intellectual culture, excessive taxation—established mainly to support the war effort—and ultimately, corruption.[2]

1. Kassis 1997, p.305.
2. Chalmeta 1993, pp.590–91.

27
DINAR
Gold
Seville, 536/1141–42
4.17 g, diam. 22 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.57.4066

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God, God bless him and grant him salvation! Commander of the Muslims, 'Ali. Heir apparent, the Amir Tashufin. If anyone desires a religion other than Islam, never will it be accepted of him, and in the Hereafter he will be in the ranks of those who have lost (Q 3:85). **Reverse:** The Imam, 'Abd Allah, Commander of the Faithful, the 'Abbasid, 'Ali. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, it was struck in Seville in the year five hundred and thirty [six].

This dinar was struck for 'Ali b. Yusuf b. Tashufin at Seville by the Banu Ghaniya, the governors of the Almoravids in Córdoba and Seville in the 1140s; the inscription names his son Tashufin b. 'Ali b. Yusuf, as his heir. This type of dinar was issued only between 533/1138 and 537/1143, when 'Ali died at Marrakech. 'Ali b. Yusuf promoted Tashufin to three important posts in al-Andalus, first to the governorship of Granada in Dhu'l-Hijja 523/December 1129, then to the governorship of Almería, and later in 526/1132 to the governorship of Córdoba, where he appears to have had some success in consolidating his territory despite constant attacks by Alfonso VII (r. Castile and León 1126–57). Tashufin left al-Andalus for Marrakech in 1138, and does not appear to have returned to the peninsula, but rather was preoccupied with fighting the Almohads *(al-muwahhidun)* in Morocco until his death in battle in 1145. Interestingly, the inscription on the reverse includes the title "al-'Abbasi, 'Ali." The first appearance of such titulature is in Fez in 533/1138 and in al-Andalus in 536/1142, coinciding with the rising threat of the Almohads. By proclaiming his allegiance with the 'Abbasid caliph and the 'Alid origins of the 'Abbasid movement so stridently, 'Ali b. Yusuf opposed himself to the propaganda of the Almohad doctrine of the living *mahdi* (savior).[1]

1. Kassis 1997, pp.308–9.

28
TREMISSIS
Gold
Egitania (Idanha a Velha), ca. 710–11
1.49 g, diam. 19 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.57.617

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** ✠ IN Dei NominE RVDERICVS ReX (In the name of God, King Roderic) *Type* Crowned portrait bust. **Reverse:** ✠ EGITANIA PIVS (Pious Egitania) *Type* Square cross and vine.

Roderic, the last of the Visigothic kings, who was defeated by Tariq b. Ziyad in 711, issued this tremissis. A provincial duke, he was elevated to the throne in Toledo in 710, in opposition to the sons of Wittiza, his predecessor (see cat. no. 2). Supporters of Wittiza's sons made contact with the Muslim conquerors of North Africa for aid in restoring them to the Spanish throne, though this desire was never realized. But it appears Wittiza's sons' inheritance was restored to them after Roderic's death with the approval of the Umayyad caliph, al-Walid (r. 86–96/705–715), and the governor of Ifriqiya, Musa b. Nusayr: The Toledo estates went to Achila, those in Córdoba went to Olmund, and those in Seville went to Ardabast. Tariq b. Ziyad revoked these claims, and Achila seems to have fled north, where for several years, he tried to restore the Visigothic crown, though his ultimate fate is unknown. After the conquest, many of the Visigothic nobles intermarried with immigrant Arab elites, eventually converting to Islam, while others moved north; by the tenth century, the Christian population of al-Andalus had become an Arabized minority, the Mozarabs (ar. *musta'rib,* those who adopt the customs of the Arabs).

PUBLISHED Miles 1952, no.512b.

29
DINERO
Billion
Toledo, ca. 1086
0.99 g, diam. 18 x 19 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.28306

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** .:.AN.FVS.R' (King Alfonso) *Type* Crowned portrait bust. **Reverse:** :.TO.LE.TA (Toledo) *Type* Square cross.

The numismatist José León Hernández-Canut has argued recently that this very rare, low-silver alloy, portrait coin was issued by Alfonso VI, soon after his conquest of Toledo in 1085. It seems to follow two prototypes: the late Visigothic tremissis and contemporary pennies of

William the Conqueror, both of which contain portrait busts. For those who would understand these parallels, the motive for choosing them is not subtle. Alfonso VI would have been the first Christian king to sit on the throne of Toledo since the defeat of Roderic (see cat. no. 28); in addition, the conquest of Toledo marked the first major regional shift in power since the Norman conquest of England twenty years before. It is noteworthy that these coins are rare—their scarcity and low value seems to indicate that they were intended for a local audience, not an international one, and that their impact was meant to be political and not commercial. This intention strongly contrasts with that of Ramón Berenguer I's mancus dinars (cat. nos. 22–24): His imitative coins are of high value and are plentiful, indicating that they had a commercial purpose and an international presence—their value would have been recognized and acknowledged throughout the Mediterranean. Perhaps for the purposes of local commerce after the conquest, Alfonso VI issued much heavier billion coins (3.86 g, 23 mm) inscribed in Arabic that follow the prototype of the coins issued by the Dhu' l-Nunids, the taifa dynasty that had ruled Toledo.[1] That these anonymous coins are also rare makes their commercial distribution difficult to gauge.

PUBLISHED Hernández-Canut forthcoming.

1. Gabinete Numismático 1999, p.90.

30
TOMBSTONE

Marble
Almería, Dhu'l-Hijja 525/November 1131
93 x 47 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, D253

INSCRIPTION In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. God bless and grant salvation to Muhammad and his family. O ye people! Verily, God's promise is true; then let not the life of this world beguile you, and let not the beguiler beguile you concerning God. This is the grave of Abu 'Amr 'Uthman b. Muhammad b. Baqi al-Shami. He died on Tuesday, in the last ten days of the month of Dhu'l-Hijja, in the year five hundred and twenty and five, testifying that there is no deity but God alone, none can be associated with Him, and that Muhammad is his servant and his messenger. He sent him with guidance and the religion of truth, to make it prevail over every [other] religion, though the Associators may detest it. With this testimony she [*sic*] has been snatched away and with it after death she [*sic*] shall be resuscitated to life. God have mercy on a servant who prays for mercy for him in his grave. It is a cup which every soul must taste and return to, may God grant us an excuse [—so that He may pardon us ?—] and unite us with Muhammad.[1]

Like many tombstones, this tombstone was made in the form of a mihrab, a form appropriate to the grave as Muslim burials face the *qibla*. A number of other tombstones from Almería made in the same year—one, for example, at the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid—are identical in form and execution. This points to a moderate level of mass production also evinced by the mistakes made in the inscription (the last part of which is unintelligible) particularly the transposition of gender. Lévi-Provençal remarked about this stone, "Cette épitaphe banale est remarkable par les nombre de fautes qu'elle présente, surtout sur la frise épigraphique latérale, qui ne referme que des clichés de lapicides sans doute à peine lettrés."[2] It is common on tombstones to include the Qur'anic statement of the prophetic mission of Muhammad from the Surat al-Tawba (Q 9:33). Although the inscription may be garbled, and Abu 'Amr al-Shami (the Syrian) does not appear to have been a well-known figure, the use of marble to mark his grave is a sign of prestige and honor and indicates a person of some means.

PUBLISHED Lévi-Provençal 1931, pp.118–19, no.132, pl.27c; Caskel 1936, pp.12–14, pl.17.

1. Translation after Caskel 1936; I thank Rachid El Hour Amro for his help in understanding the last part of the inscription.
2. Lévi-Provençal 1931, p.119.

31
DINAR

Gold
Seville, ca. 541–51/1146–56
2.29 g, diam. 20 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.13193

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God. In the name of God,

the Compassionate, the Merciful, God bless Muhammad and his family, the Good ones, the Pure ones. **Reverse:** The Mahdi, the Imam of the Umma, al-Qa'im bi-Amr Allah (He who is steadfast under the authority of God), city of Seville, Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Ali, the Commander of the Faithful, Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds (Q 1:2).

The coins of the Almohads *(al-muwahhidun,* those that affirm God's unity) represent a complete break with the numismatic traditions heretofore in al-Andalus in terms of weight, size, design, and inscriptions. The break seems to have been prompted by ideology, but also may have been caused by a shortage of gold because of poor political relations with West Africa. The standard weight of the Almohad dinars is 2.27 grams, approximately half a mithqal. Their lower weight is commensurate with their smaller size with respect to the Almoravid and previous dinars. Their design comprises a central inscription in a cursive script, framed in a square, with the marginal legends in the lunettes created by the frame and the round shape of the coin. The inscriptions, in keeping with Almohad doctrine, are frankly 'Alid in content, and name the imam as the Mahdi, or savior destined to come at the end of time. The Almohad movement, impulsed by Ibn Tumart in Tinmallal, Morocco, was messianic and Shi'a in character, although its roots remain obscure. The Mahdi Ibn Tumart called himself *al-Imam al-ma'sum* (the Impeccable Imam) and his followers assumed the messianic title that had been attributed to him. This dinar, issued by Ibn Tumart's successor, 'Abd al-Mu'min (r. 524–558/1130–1163), bears both the titulature of the mahdi, the imam of the *umma* (the Muslim community), as well as the caliphal title Commander of the Faithful. The inclusion of the second *aya* of the Surat al-Fatiha symbolizes the Almohad emphasis on the reading of the Qur'an.

32
DINAR

Gold
Seville, ca. 563–80/1167–85
2.31 g, diam. 22 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.13168

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, there is no god but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God, the Mahdi, Imam of the Umma, Seville. And your god is One God, there is no god but He, the Compassionate, the Merciful (Q 2:163). **Reverse:** Al-Qa'im bi-Amr Allah (He who is steadfast under the authority of God), the caliph Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Ali, Commander of the Faithful. Commander of the Faithful Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, son of the Commander of the Faithful.

This dinar was issued in Seville by the Almohad caliph Abu Ya'qub Yusuf b. 'Abd al-Mu'min (r. 558–80/1163–84). Hanna Kassis has identified this type of dinar, issued only from the mint at Seville, as belonging to the "third-phase" of Almohad coinage, corresponding to those coins minted after the investiture of Abu Ya'qub Yusuf with the caliphal title, Commander of the Faithful, in 563/1167.[1] Abu Ya'qub Yusuf moved the Almohad capital from Córdoba to Seville, a city he had governed since 549/ 1155, after the death of his father in 558/1163. The doctrine of *tawhid*, or unity of God, essential to the Almohads, is expressed in the use of the Qur'anic verse from the Surat al-Baqarah (Q 2:163) on the obverse.

1. Kassis 1997, p.327.

33
THREE DIRHAMS

Silver
Córdoba, ca. 1163–1236
1.55 g, diam. 9.5 x 10 mm; 1.54 g, diam. 9 x 9 mm; 1.50 g, diam. 9 x 10 mm.
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.57.4830, 1001.57.4831, 1001.57.4832

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God, the authority for all of it belongs to God, there is no power except in God. Córdoba. **Reverse:** God is our Lord, Muhammad is our messenger, the Mahdi is our Imam.

Like the dinars, the dirhams (common silver coins) issued by the Almohads are half the standard weight of the nominal dirhams in al-Andalus heretofore. They have the square shape of the interior frame of the Almohad dinars. The type of dirham represented by these three examples was issued after the reign of 'Abd al-Mu'min from a large number of mints including Córdoba, Jaén, Seville, Granada, Málaga, Valencia, Denia, Murcia, Menorca, Mallorca, and Jérez.[1] The rhyming scheme of the inscription on the reverse describing a hierarchy of God, the Prophet, and the Mahdi *(Allah rabbuna, Muhammad rasulna, al-Mahdi imamuna)* is clearly intended to proselytize the Almohad doctrine. The square format of these dirhams remained the dominant form for silver coins in al-Andalus until the fall of the Nasrids in 1492 (see cat. no. 51).

1. Kassis 1997, p.329.

34
MARAVEDÍ
Gold
Toledo, 1213 (era 1251)
3.80 g, diam. 27 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.57.4613

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** ✠ The Imam of the Christian faith, Pope, Alfonso. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the One God. Whosoever believes and is baptized will be saved. **Reverse:** The Commander of the Catholics, Alfonso b. Sancho, may God help him and render him victorious. This dinar was struck in the city of Toledo in the year a thousand and two hundred and fifty and one of the era of Safar.[1]

Alfonso VIII of Castile's (r. 1158–1214) gold coin, the maravedí, was an adaptation of the type of Almoravid dinar *(dinar murabiti)* minted until 541/1146; its inscriptions are written in Arabic, not Latin. Lighter and larger than some Almoravid dinars, the maravedí copies the titulature of the Almoravids, the layout of the Almoravid inscriptions, the placement of the inscriptions between two concentric circles, and the use of a beaded border at the edge (see cat. no. 27). Even the writing of the word *Amir* on Alfonso VIII's maravedí imitates the style of the word *al-Imam* on the Almoravid dinars. There are differences in calligraphy, however, that probably can be attributed to Alfonso's employment of Mozarabic chancery scribes in Toledo where the coin was struck. As its inscriptions are written in Arabic, the intended audience must have included Muslims and Arabic literate Christians and Jews, though the Muslims seem to have been the target of the propaganda. Alfonso's choice of the phrase "Whosoever believes and is baptized will be saved" directly counters the phrase inscribed on Almoravid dinars from Q 3:85, "If anyone desires a religion other than Islam, never will it be accepted of him, and in the Hereafter he will be among those who have lost."[2] This was the first time that a Castilian king assumed the mantle of Christendom to rhetorically oppose Islam and the Muslim rulers in the peninsula.[3] The earliest maravedí appears to date to 1172 (era 1210), coinciding with the caliphate of the Almohad Abu Ya'qub Yusuf b. 'Abd al-Mu'min; thus Alfonso's choice of the Almoravid model rather than the contemporary Almohad dinar indicates a visual hostility to the Almohads. The source of Alfonso VIII's gold remains in question as the Almohads did not pay tribute to him, and Peter Linehan has argued that it was the treasury of the church of Toledo.[4] Hanna Kassis surmises that as a response to Alfonso VIII's *morabitinos,* the Almohad caliph Abu Yusuf Ya'qub al-Mansur began minting larger dinars in 1184, sometimes called "double dinars," weighing on average 4.55 grams and measuring 27–33 millimeters presumably to prevent a monopoly in larger gold issues from Toledo.[5] The Almohads were able to rout Alfonso VIII at Alarcos in 1195, although their own defeat at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 was substantial. This maravedí, dated a year later in 1213, does not exhibit any special triumphalism and is identical to the maravedís of 1172.

1. While the origin of the word Safar is not clear, the era referred to here is the "era of Caesar" or the "era española," thirty-eight years more advanced than the Julian calendar. This system of dating was used in both Latin and Castilian documents until its abolition in 1383. Its use in the inscription on these maravedís more than likely provides evidence for the use of Arabic-literate, Mozarabic chancery scribes in Toledo in the composition of the text.

2. See Kassis 1997, pp.307–8.

3. Linehan 1993, p.293.

4. Ibid.

5. Kassis 1997, pp.322, 327–28.

35
MARAVEDÍ
Gold
León, ca. 1188–1230
3.72 g, diam. 28 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.25564

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** ALFONSVS DEI. GRACIA. REX ✠ (Alfonso, by the grace of God, King) *Type* Crowned portrait bust with cross and scepter. **Reverse:** ✠ IN NominE : PATRIS : eT FiLiI : eT SPiritusS : SanCtI (In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit) *Type* Lion passant.

Alfonso IX, king of León (r. 1188–1230), issued this maravedí. It follows the model of the maravedís issued by his father, Fernando II of León (r. 1157–88), probably as a response to the Arabic maravedís of his rival and nephew, Alfonso VIII of Castile (see cat. no. 34). The earliest of those coins appears to be dated 1172, and Fernando's maravedí is unlikely to have been issued before this date. Like the Almoravid dinars and the maravedís of Alfonso VIII, this coin of similar weight and size encloses the inscription within two concentric circles, with a beaded border along the edge. Similarly, it bears the name of the ruler on one side and the Trinitarian blessing on the other, although in Latin, not in Arabic. In the central

field, however, Fernando II and Alfonso IX substituted images for words: a portrait of the king as a holy emperor on the obverse and a lion, symbolizing the kingdom of León, on the reverse. This coin was among the earliest with Christian imagery to be minted extensively in Spain since the Visigoths—the most common currency heretofore in the Christian kingdoms were Muslim or imitation Muslim coins. Alfonso IX married his second cousin, Alfonso VIII's daughter Berenguela of Castile, and faced papal interdiction because of consanguinity—Innocent III considered their marriage to be incestuous. Their son Fernando III unified the kingdoms of Castile and Léon in 1230, and by doing so, was able to consolidate a large army that would prove disastrous to the Almohads and their successors. Alfonso IX is known to have been absent from the battle at Las Navas de Tolosa, although he captured Cáceres (1227), Mérida, and Badajóz (1230) from the Almohads.

36
PRIVILEGIO RODADO

Ink on parchment, red silk, and lead
Aguilar de Campo (Palencia),
March 8, 1255
53.2 x 47.1 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York,
B13

A *privilegio rodado* is a particular kind of royal donation that is authenticated by a round insignia, the *signo rodado,* and sometimes a lead or wax seal. Lead seals were used to provide special authentication where a wax seal would not have appeared to be permanent enough. This *privilegio rodado,* issued by Alfonso X of Castile and León (r. 1252–84) in 1255,

reconfirms an old land grant (in Latin) from 1187 concerning two adjoining towns, Villa Sillo (Villasila) and Villa Melendo (Villamelendro); the towns were donated by Alfonso VIII, Alfonso X's great-grandfather, to the military order of Santiago, through its representative, Pedro Rodríguez de Castro.[1] Alfonso VIII's gift of these lands probably stemmed from his consolidation and urbanization of territory around Palencia—a region systematically destroyed and deserted since the eighth century due to the rise of Muslim political power, and only repopulated in the tenth century.[2] Of interest in this reconfirmation is the prominence given to Alfonso X's Muslim vassals in the list of signatories: Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad I al-Ghalib b. Nasr, king of Granada; Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Hud, king of Murcia; and Musa b. Muhammad b. Nasr b. Mahfuz, king of Niebla *(Don Aboabdilla Alennazar Rey de Granada uassallo del Rey...Don Mahomath Abenmahomath Abenhuth Rey de Murcia uassallo del Rey...Don Abenmafhoth Rey de Niebla, uassallo del Rey).* Their names appear after the names of Alfonso X's wife and children, brothers, and the bishop of Santiago, but before two French tributary barons and the lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries of Castile and León. These three Muslim rulers came to prominence in the vacuum created by the fall of the Almohad state, the so-called post-Almohad taifa rulers. Each had separately made alliances with Alfonso X or his father, Fernando III—Granada in 1246, Murcia in 1243, and Niebla in 1237—and in exchange for tribute payments and occasional military service, they were left alone.[3] Vassalage here should be understood as a nonexclusive political alliance of convenience that was not necessarily irrevocable for either party. The recognition of the prestige of these alliances in this *privilegio* from 1255 was short lived, as Alfonso laid siege and conquered Niebla in 1262 and Aragón took Murcia for Castile in 1266. Muhammad al-Ghalib (r. 629–71/ 1232–73), the founder of the Nasrid dynasty in Granada, in a significant show of loyalty, participated as Fernando III's vassal in the Castilian siege and conquest of Seville in 1248.

PUBLISHED Savage 1928; Tesoros 2000, pp.136–37, no.17.

1. Savage 1928, pp.5–11.
2. On the destruction and desertion of lands in the region of the Duero and the repopulation of Palencia, see Gautier Dalché 1989, pp.10, 259–61; Alfonso VIII's success in this endeavor can perhaps be measured by the fact that by the 1180s, he was trying to attract scholars to Palencia in order to form a university.
3. See Harvey 1990, pp.26–27, 44–50.

37
TEXTILE FRAGMENT

Silk and gold threads
Found at Villalcázar de Sirga, Palencia
Granada?, ca. 1270–74
45 x 35 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York,
H904a

INSCRIPTION Prosperity.

Perhaps from a tunic (sp. *aljuba,* ar. *al-jubba),* this fragment from a tabby-woven, silk textile was excavated from the tomb of the Infante Felipe in the church of María de la Blanca in Villalcázar de Sirga (Palencia), along the pilgrimage route to Santiago de

Compostela. Felipe, a signatory of the *privilegio rodado* above (cat. no. 36), was a younger brother of Alfonso X, and died in 1274 at the age of forty-six. Fernando III's ambition for his sons, Sancho and Felipe, was an ecclesiastical career as prelates in the peninsula. His attempt in 1246 to have Felipe appointed bishop of Osma was frustrated by Innocent IV's objections, and Felipe never acquired pontifical confirmation in his father's lifetime, probably because he had not reached the canonical age of thirty.[1] He was twenty-five years old in 1249 when he was appointed procurator of the church of Seville *(procurator ecclesiae hispalensis),* a city that his father had conquered the previous year. In 1252, Felipe was named archbishop-elect of Seville, a post that he retained until 1258, when he was married to Christine of Norway.[2] Two years before his death, Felipe rebelled against his brother Alfonso X and sought refuge at the Nasrid court in Granada with a group of lay magnates (the *ricos hombres)* headed by Nuño González de Lara. Muhammad I al-Ghalib welcomed them, but died the following year in an accident, and the rebels remained at the court of his son Muhammad II until 1273, when they accompanied him to Seville to negotiate with Alfonso X. Upon agreeing to be Alfonso's vassal and paying him three hundred thousand Castilian maravedís in tribute, Muhammad II's prior agreements with the rebels were torn up, and they were welcomed back into the Castilian fold.[3] Felipe was buried the following year alongside his second wife, Leonor Ruiz de Castro, and the more than twenty surviving fragments from their grave clothes, taken from their tombs at an unknown date, have become slightly jumbled.[4] What is clear from these fragments, and those surviving from many other tombs, is that all of the peninsular Christian kings in this period as well as the major prelates and nobles, were buried in textiles imported from Muslim centers of production, whether politically independent or Mudéjar (Muslims living under Christian rule). This type of luxury textile, whether purchased or received as a gift, played a major role in Castilian court culture, serving as clothing and as coverings for items such as cushions, some of which have also survived in tombs. Felipe may have received the textile to which this fragment belonged from his Nasrid patrons in Granada, in which case the prestige of the gift would have contributed to its election for his entombment.

PUBLISHED Survey 1954, p.124, pl.90; May 1957, pp.90–107; Tesoros 2000, pp.138–39, no.18.

1. Mansilla Reoyo 1945, pp.333–35, docs.62, 63.
2. Approximately six years earlier, sometime before 1243, he and his brother Sancho were tonsured and admitted by Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada to the cathedral of Toledo as psalmists. By 1252, Sancho must have been named archbishop-elect of Toledo. See González 1980–86, vol.3, p.429, doc.842 (Seville, April 22, 1252). Unlike Felipe, Sancho was finally confirmed as archbishop of Toledo in 1259. See Hernández-Canut 1998, p.441.
3. Harvey 1990, pp.37–40, 151–53.
4. May 1957, pp.90–91.

38
PLANISPHERIC ASTROLABE

Brass
By Muhammad b. al-Sahli
Valencia, 483/1090
Diam. 107 mm
National Museum of American History, acc. no.232130; NMAH mus. cat. no. 318178; CCA no.2572

Cat. nos. 38 and 40

Astrolabes are early computing tools that can be used for a variety of objectives, the principal ones being timekeeping, surveying, determination of location, and casting horoscopes. Conceived as an abstraction of heaven and earth, the elements of the astrolabe impose a model of the celestial over the terrestrial with the third dimension of time. In the Islamic context, the astrolabe was used, among other things, for determining the azimuth of the *qibla*—the direction of prayer—and for calculating the timing for prayers. The astrolabe is a portable instrument, comprised of a body engraved with units of time, plates engraved with stereographic projections of the earth at different latitudes, and the rete (*'ankabut,* spider), a star map. A revolving sight, the alidade (*al-'idada,* the counter), fixed to the center of the instrument with a pin, allowed for timekeeping and other calculations by night or day. The plates are marked with the names of cities located at the projected latitude, and as one of its principal applications was the casting of horoscopes, the astrolabe allowed one to travel, as it were, in time and in space, while staying at home.

Cat. no. 38 is the earliest of its type in the Smithsonian's collection of scientific instruments.[1] Its maker, Muhammad b.

al-Sahli, who signed and dated the reverse, is known from a celestial globe made with his father Ibrahim b. Sa'id al-Sahli, dated 478/1085 and housed in the Museo di Storia della Scienza, Florence. Another celestial globe, in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has also been attributed to al-Sahli's workshop.[2] The interior plates contain projections for cities in al-Andalus, Egypt, and Arabia, giving an indication of the origins of the population where it was employed.

The rete was sanded down, perhaps in the thirteenth century, and some star names were reengraved in Judeo-Arabic, indicating its later ownership by a Jewish astrologer. The stars that are indicated include: Mas? *(Nasr Tayir)* [a Aquilae], Zanab ha-Gadi *(Dhanab al-Jadiy)* [d Capricorni], Sit? *(Ka'b al-Faras)* [t Pegasi], Dabaran [a Tauri], Rijl *(Rijl al-Jawza')* [b Orionis], Fakkah [a Coronae Borealis], Nin? *(al-Waqi')* [a Lyrae], 'Ayyuq [a Aurigae], Qalb[?] *(Qalb al-Asad)* [a Leonis], al-A'zal *(al-Simak al-A'zal)* [a Virginis], Ramih *(Simak Ramih)* [a Bootis], and Lev ha-'Aqrab *(Qalb al-'Aqrab)* [a Scorpii]. There was more than one hand at work here—some stars are engraved clearly while others are almost illegible. Two star names on the reverse of the rete as well as another word are difficult to decipher.

Medieval Jewish interest and activity in astrology is attested by surviving horoscope charts, astrological almanacs, manuscripts dealing with astrolabes, and a small group of four astrolabes with Hebrew inscriptions in addition to this one.[3] Perhaps the best known of early Jewish astrologers was Masha'allah of Basra (d. ca. 815), to whom nineteen treatises in Arabic on astrology and astronomy have been attributed. Masha'allah, along with three other Persian/Iraqi astrologers was responsible for casting the horoscope that favored the foundation of al-Mansur's round city Madinat al-Salam (Baghdad) on 3 Jumada I 145/29 July 762.[4] A number of his works were translated into and survive only in Latin and Hebrew, and his treatise on astrolabes was probably a source for Geoffrey Chaucer's *Tretise of the Astrelabie* in the 1380s or 1390s.[5] Interestingly enough, the design of European astrolabes closely matches that of astrolabes from al-Andalus, and not that of astrolabes from the Eastern Islamic world, showing graphically the role of al-Andalus as a source of transmission of scientific knowledge to Europe.

Cat no. 40 was probably made a century or so after Ibn al-Sahli's astrolabe.[6] The presumed signature and date on the reverse is too worn to be legible, but a later inscription states that it was given as an endowment to "the Greatest Friday Mosque, the 6th of Muharram, year 1308" (August 22, 1890). The verb "endowed," *hubisa,* is particular to the western Islamic world, and one might guess that the mosque in question was the Great Mosque of Qairawan in Tunisia, or the Kutubiyya in Marrakech. Both Tunisia and Morocco received large numbers of émigrés from al-Andalus, fleeing the desolation of the Christian conquests, and this astrolabe may have remained in the possession of their descendants through the nineteenth century. The plates nestled in this astrolabe contain projections for Andalusi cities—Mallorca, Córdoba, Seville, and Toledo—as well as Fez, Marrakech, Cairo, Alexandria, Askalon, and Palestine.

PUBLISHED Gibbs and Saliba 1984, pp.174–77.

1. Gibbs and Saliba 1984, pp.174–77.
2. Dodds 1992, pp.378-79.
3. The four astrolabes are: The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (ca. 1300), the British Museum (perhaps ca. 1350), the Kugel Collection, Paris (ca. 1450), and the Adler Planetarium, Chicago (ca. 1550). See Goldstein 1976, pp.251–52, and Maddison and Savage-Smith 1997, pp.214–17. For horoscopes and almanacs found in the Geniza in Fustat, see Goldstein and Pingree 1977, 1979a, and 1979b.
4. Maddison and Savage-Smith 1997, p.194; Samsó 1991, pp.710–11.
5. See Kunitzsch 1981, p.24, for an argument that Masha'allah was not Chaucer's source, but rather a treatise by the tenth-century astronomer Maslama b. Ahmad al-Majriti (d. 398/1007–8) from Córdoba.
6. Gibbs and Saliba 1984, pp.177–79.

39
COMPENDIUM OF MATHEMATICAL AND ASTRONOMICAL TREATISES

Brown ink and color on parchment
Spain, 13th century
22.4 x 16.3 x 3.8 cm; folio: 21.3 x 15 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, HC:397/726

This medieval Latin anthology comprises mathematical, astronomical, and astrological texts translated from Greek and Arabic. It includes treatises by Masha'allah, al-Farghani translated by John of Seville (Johannes Hispalensis), 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Uthman al-Qabisi, Johannes Heremita, Hunayn b. Ishaq, Hippocrates (Aphorisms, Prognostica, and *De regimento acutarum egritudinum),* Pseudo Galienus, and Theophilos Protopatharios. Perhaps the most important among them is a translation of Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Musa al-Khwarizmi's (ca. 184–232/800–47) treatise on arithmetic (fols. 17r–24v). This treatise, which has not survived in Arabic, was translated to Latin in the twelfth century, though that translation does not appear to have survived either. Two early revisions of the first Latin translation have survived: an incomplete English one in

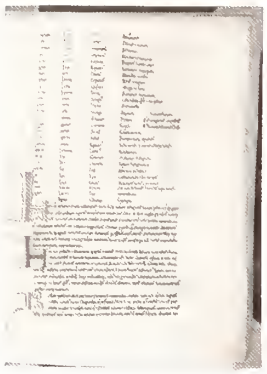


FIG. 2. *Cat. no. 39, fol. 9v. A list of star names in Latinized Arabic, from a treatise on clock-making and astrolabes.*

Cambridge, and this complete Spanish one in the collection of the Hispanic Society. Medieval European textbooks on arithmetic and calculation descend directly through these revised translations from al-Khwarizmi's treatise. Al-Khwarizmi was a mathematician and astronomer based in Baghdad who worked at the *Bayt al-Hikma* (House of Wisdom), an institution initiated by the 'Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 198–218/813–33) for the purpose of translating Greek and Syriac texts and the collection of philosophical, mathematical, and astronomical knowledge. In his treatise on arithmetic, al-Khwarizmi made use of Indian numerals and concepts, such as the decimal place-holding system and the use of zero, and he appears to have been less influenced by Greek mathematics. While Indian numerals were known in Spain before the translations of al-Khwarizmi, his contributions mark a significant new phase in their representation and use in calculation. The treatise contains sections on the writing of numbers; the decimal place-holding system; addition and subtraction of integers; doubling, halving, multiplication, and division of integers; fractions and their multiplication and division; square roots; the roots of fractions; and roots of mixed integers and fractions. The manuscript is written in brown ink in Gothic minuscule on parchment with red and blue gouache.

PUBLISHED Folkerts and Kunitzsch 1997.

40
PLANISPHERIC ASTROLABE

Brass
Al-Andalus, 12th–13th century
Diam. 118 mm
National Museum of American History, acc. no. 215454; NMAH mus. cat. no. 316753;CCA. no. 3643.

See entry for cat. no. 38.

PUBLISHED Gibbs and Saliba 1984, pp.177–79.

41
SEFER MUSRÉ HAFILOSOFIM (BOOK OF THE MORALS OF PHILOSOPHERS)

Ink and color on parchment
Translators: Hunayn b. Ishaq al-'Ibadi (809–73), Yehuda b. Shlomo al-Harizi (1170–1235)
Spain, 13th–15th century
14.8 x 11 cm; fols.: 13.2 x 9.7 cm; text block: 8.6 x 6.3 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, B1158

The *Sefer Musré haFilosofim* has a partly attested pedigree between the ninrh and twelfth centuries that illustrates how classical knowledge was transmitted to different sectors of the medieval Islamic world and, through Spain, to medieval Christian Europe. It is a collection of aphorisms of Greek philosophers that was compiled in Byzantium as a "florilegium" (literally, a bouquet of flowers), an anthology of selected texts. In ninth-century Baghdad, Hunayn b. Ishaq al-'Ibadi, a Nestorian court physician to the caliph al-Mutawakkil and famed translator of Greek and Syriac texts, translated it into Arabic, probably for a private client. Few manuscripts of this Arabic translation—*Kitab adab al-falasifa* (Book of the belles-lettres of philosophy) or *Nawadir al-falasifa* (Rareties of philosophy)—have survived, but significantly, one in the Escorial library written in Western Arabic script is dated 594/1198, indicaring that the text circulated in the Andalusi-Maghribi orbit in the late twelfth century. In the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, the Andalusi translator and author Yehuda b. Shlomo al-Harizi, translated it into Hebrew. Al-Harizi, who worked from Toledo, is best known for his translations into Hebrew of Maimonides' commentary *Guide for the Perplexed,* written in Arabic in 1190, and of al-Hariri's (1054–1122) fifty *Maqamat,* known in Hebrew as the *Tahkemoni.* Contemporary with al-Harizi's Hebrew translation of the *Kitab adab al-falasifa,* an anonymous Castilian translation of the same text appeared as the *Libro de los buenos proverbios,* which penetrated political, historical, and literary texts in thirteenth-century Spain. This manuscript was written in Sephardic Hebrew cursive, with some simple ornamentarion in black and red ink. Folio 11a contains a drawing on a segmented wheel inscribed with eight aphorisms on kingship. As is common in Hebrew manuscripts, pricking and ruling were used to

assure the uniform registration of the text block. Approximately six pages at the beginning of the manuscript and forty at the end are missing—some pages are darkened at the edges, and may have been seared by fire.

Vivian B. Mann and Heather Ecker

42
TEXTILE
Silk threads
Granada, ca. 1400
237.5 x 152.3 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, H921

INSCRIPTIONS In mirrored, plaited Kufic: Happiness; in red cartouches: Prosperity and good fortune; in white cartouches: Perpetual honor.

This large and complete compound-woven silk panel may have been intended as a curtain or bedspread—the benevolent wishes of its inscriptions perhaps point to an item given as a wedding gift or as payment of tribute. It has two selvage edges and a row of checkerboards at each end that Bellinger, half a century ago, argued were end-of-run bands to mark the beginning and end of a length of fabric.[1] The arrangement of the woven pattern in a series of repeating bands has led some scholars to identify this type of silk cloth with the Alhambra palace in Granada because it recalls the repeating geometrical patterns in its cut tilework dados. Similar textiles, which may have been produced at the same or related workshops, are preserved at the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, the Textile Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and other American collections. The preservation of so many examples, though generally smaller than this one, led May to speculate that workshops in southern Andalusi towns other than Granada or wokshops in North African cities such as Tunis, Fez, Rabat, and Marrakech may have produced this type of silk cloth.[2] Perhaps the most striking aspect of this textile is its affinity with Nasrid-style geometrical and interlacing design in other media, such as tilework, woodwork, bookbinding, and painted stucco. That the same types of patterns were repeated in so many different media implies the design was imperative to a royal atelier. The mirrored plaited-Kufic inscriptions woven in the textile are similar to those in stucco at the Palacio de los Comares and Palacio de los Leones (Palacio del Riyad) at the Alhambra, both built or improved under the patronage of the Nasrid sultan Muhammad V in the second half of the fourteenth century.[3] Fernández-Puertas describes the atelier or scriptorium (Diwan al-Insha') under Muhammad V as housed in the Palacio de los Comares and headed successively by the well-known chronicler Ibn al-Khatib and his student, the poet Ibn Zamrak. He argues that the diwan evolved from a simple scriptorium responsible for drafting correspondence and documents to an atelier that encompassed other tasks such as the composition of poetry, calligraphy, and design.[4]

PUBLISHED Handbook 1938, p.276; May 1957, pp.193–201.

1. Cited in May 1957, p.200.
2. Ibid., p.194.
3. Fernández-Puertas 1997, pp.112–41.
4. Ibid., pp.142–58.

43
TEXTILE FRAGMENT
Silk and gold threads
Toledo or Granada, ca. 1300
134.5 x 60.5 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, H909

INSCRIPTIONS Perpetual prosperity, enduring honor.

This rich, compound-woven silk brocade textile is made up of two large and four small pieces sewn together. The slightly peculiar shape of the textile owes more to its reconstruction from fragments than to any type of garment. At the top is a band containing roundels filled with seated, drinking girls and addorsed gazelles alternating with geometrical motifs. In a horizontal band below is a rhyming, mirrored benedictory inscription *(al-yumn al-da'im, al-'izz al-qa'im).* The remainder of the cloth comprises a pattern of interlocking eight-pointed stars. Other less complete pieces from the same cloth are preserved in collections in Barcelona, London, Brussels, Lyon, and New York.[1] Wooden beams carved with the same rhyming inscription are found at two fourteenth-century sites in Toledo: the Palacio del Rey Don Pedro and the Convento Real de Monjas Franciscanas de Santa Ana.[2] Although a Toledan provenance cannot be ignored, because of the extensive use of gold-wrapped threads in its weaving, May argued that it was probably manufactured in a wealthy metropolitan center such as Granada, while she based its

dating (ca. 1300–50) on a comparison with another brocaded textile with gold and silk threads and similar roundels of seated drinkers that was linked to a thirteenth-century manuscript.[3] While the representation of human figures in Andalusi textiles is perhaps unusual, examples have survived from the thirteenth century, such as the female dancers on the silk and gold grave pillow cover of Berenguela of Castile, daughter of Alfonso VIII of Castile and first wife of Alfonso IX of León (d. 1246).[4] The link between the Hispanic Society brocade and Granada is perhaps strengthened by comparing it to the grave vestments of the archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (d. 1247), which, it is said, were given in tribute to Fernando III by the Nasrid sultan Muhammad I. The composition of the decorative panel on Jiménez de Rada's tunic, made of silk, gold, and silver threads, comprises roundels, a banded section with a benedictory inscription, and a larger band of eight-pointed stars and knotted forms, like the composition of the Hispanic Society textile.[5] Both comparable textiles and May's own evidence point to a probable date of manufacture in the late thirteenth century rather than in the fourteenth.

PUBLISHED Demaison 1907, p.30, no.65; Handbook 1938, p.275; Survey 1954, p.125, pl.91; May 1957, pp.134–45.

1. May 1957, p.134.
2. Barceló 1997, p.84, 84 n1.
3. May 1957, pp.134, 138–39.
4. Dodds 1992, pp.321–22, no.89.
5. Ibid., pp.330–31, no.94.

44
DOOR

Cedar wood, polychrome, and gilding
Probably Granada, 14th century
211 x 120 x 7.9 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, D70

This large, weathered, Nasrid-style door is one of a pair; its probable mate is another door in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin. These doors would have been mounted on stiles set into the floor, allowing them to swing. Both sides of the door are decorated so as to create a unified effect whether the door was open or closed. The basic principle of the design is the *lazo* of eight, a geometrical construction based on the interlocking possibilities of the eight-pointed star, ultimately derived from two squares superimposed at forty-five degree angles to each other. The *lazo* of eight was one of the most frequent underlying systems of geometrical design used in Nasrid construction, and it was expressed in a variety of media including wood used for doors and ceilings, stucco, *alicatado* (ar. *al-qat'*, the cutting; cut-tile dados), floor tiles, and textiles. The hexagonal shapes that radiate from the central star are called *zafates* (ar. *safat*, basket or fish scales) in the surviving seventeenth-century treatises on this type of woodwork (*carpintería de lo blanco* or *carpinteria de lazo*), and the small irregular star shapes on the outside of each eight-pointed wheel are *candilejos*.[1] Each of the geometrical shapes enclosed by the framework that defines the pattern is carved with a vegetal design, though much worn from exposure. These carved pieces float inside the frame, which is designed to move in order to prevent warping and cracking. The complex style of interlocking geometrical constructions prized by the Nasrids was used extensively outside of Granada by Mudéjar carpenters, as well as by carpenters in the New World.[2] Under Muhammad V (see cat. no. 47), one of the greatest patrons of the Alhambra palace, Granadine craftsmen were sent to Seville to decorate the palace of Pedro I as payment of tribute or as a gift. For this reason, it is difficult to ascertain the provenance of the door, though clearly it belongs to the orbit of carpenters in the Nasrid period. There are traces of polychromy and gilding, but they are over the weathered, original surface of the door.

EXHIBITED Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhamedanischer Kunst, Munich 1910.
PUBLISHED Ahlenstiel-Engel 1932, pl.5.

1. See Nuere Matauco 1990; Fernández-Puertas 1997, pp.332–49; Gómez-Moreno Martinez 1966; López de Arenas 1633; López de Arenas 1997.
2. Gómez-Moreno Martínez 2001, pp.128–29.

45
VASE NECK

Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster
Málaga (Kingdom of Granada), late 14th or early 15th century
43 x 35.5 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E576

INSCRIPTION Good health (repeated three times).

This fragment of a much larger vase, like the Freer vase (cat. no. 46), is an impressive reminder of a noble tradition of

FIG. 3. *Alhambra Vase, reproduced in Laborde 1812, from an engraving by Tomás Francisco Prieto,* Las Antigüedades Árabes de España *1775-76, pt.1, pl.19. Prieto's engraving was based on a colored drawing by D. Sánchez Sarabia, 1763, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.*

cobalt and luster ceramics made on the southern coast of al-Andalus under the Nasrid dynasty. Potters in ninth-century Baghdad invented luster, a postglazing technique that deposits a very thin layer of reflective metal on a ceramic surface. These same Iraqi potters were responsible for pioneering two other significant innovations: the mixing of tin-oxide in clear glaze to achieve an opaque white surface on earthenware that imitated the color and surface of Chinese porcelain, and the use of cobalt in ceramic painting. Remarkably, these three innovations, tin-oxide opacified glazes, luster, and cobalt, were used continuously by potters in different parts of the Islamic world from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries and beyond. Luster, perhaps the most difficult of the three techniques, requires a special reducing kiln and significant experience in order to achieve an attractive result—overfiring evaporates the luster, while underfiring or too much oxidation yields a crusty, dull appearance. Because the recipes for making luster and the know-how to achieve it were closely guarded secrets, it is generally believed that the technique was only reproducible by migrant artisans and did not spontaneously arise in multiple centers through trial and error. Thus the path of potters who worked in luster can be traced stylistically from 'Abbasid Iraq to Fatimid Egypt, to Raqqa in Syria and Kashan in Iran, and from there, perhaps, to al-Andalus.

A small number of lusterwares, probably from Iraq, were imported to Madinat al-Zahra' in the mid-tenth century; however, the earliest luster produced in al-Andalus was made in Murcia in the late tenth or early eleventh centuries; it appears to have been manufactured there until the thirteenth century, when the city fell to Alfonso X.[1] At Almería, according to the thirteenth-century Granadine author Ibn Sa'id, lusterware was also produced, although there is little archaeological evidence to support that claim. By the early fourteenth century, however, Málaga lusterware was exported to Egypt, Morocco, England, France, the Netherlands, and perhaps Iran. While shards of Málaga lusterware have been found in Europe, the greatest numbers were excavated at Fustat in Egypt. Conversely, Persian potters from Kashan, fleeing the Mongol invasions, may have gone to Málaga and continued their work there. While the technical connections between Kashan and Málaga luster are evident, stylistic similarities have not yet been adequately studied.[2]

This vase neck belongs to a family of monumental luster-painted, hand-coiled earthenware vases with bulbous bodies, long necks, and winglike handles made at Málaga for the Nasrid court and for export from around 1300 to 1425. Only ten of the vases have survived nearly intact, and some large fragments like this neck have also been preserved. Three of the vases and numerous smaller fragments were found and excavated at the Alhambra palace itself, while others, such as cat. no. 46, were found in the city of Granada. At the Alhambra, the vases appear to have been set into niches with autonomous, poetic inscriptions describing both their beauty and their function, sometimes in a rather irreverent manner. One small niche, perhaps for a similar object, declares, "I am a mihrab for prayer, its direction is the direction of my happiness; you perceive this vase to be a standing man, fulfilling the prayer, and once he is finished, he must begin it again. For my lord Ibn Nasr, may God ennoble His servants; he made him a descendant of the lord of the Khazraj, Sa'ad b. 'Ubada."[3] The poem plays with the idea of the niche as a mihrab, and the changing posture of the vase as it is repeatedly tipped for drinking and set back into its place as a man performing the *salat.* The link between the architectural inscriptions and the vases themselves is made apparent in the inscription on cat. no. 46.

This neck was built of coils in two sections and has applied, molded elements. Both Van de Put and Frothingham linked it on the basis of its structure and decoration to an Alhambra vase with Nasrid heraldic shields that survives only as an image in an eighteenth-century drawing and engraving.[4] Frothingham suggests that in fact, the Hispanic Society neck may have belonged to this now missing vase, broken in the early nineteenth century, perhaps in an earthquake, under the governorship of Ignacio Montilla, 1821–1827.[5] One incidental detail may help to make the link: Montilla apparently "used the fragments [of the broken vase] as flower-pots until a French lady carried them away." By 1834 Owen Jones reported that the fragments had already been removed.[6] Huntington purchased the neck in 1913 from a dealer in Paris.[7] While distant in time, the French connection is difficult to dismiss as coincidence.

PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, pp.39–40, pl.1; Van de Put 1947, p.73, pl.20b; Frothingham 1936, pp.106, 109–12, 116, pl.13; Frothingham 1951, p.56, fig.33, p.58, fig.34, p.59, fig.35, p.61, fig.36; Torres Balbás 1951, pp.218–19, fig.236; Ettinghausen 1954, pl.6, fig 38; Survey 1954, p.126, pl.92; Martínez Caviró 1991, p.91; Kenesson 1992, p.111, fig.23.

1. See Ettinghausen 1954.

2. See Ray 2000, p.7.

3. Lafuente Alcántara 1859, pp.99–100, no.36, in the antechamber of the ambassadors; García Gómez

1985, pp.98–99.

4. Van de Put 1947, pp.43–44, 73, pl.13, b; Antigüedades 1775–76, pl.19.

5. Frothingham 1951, pp.43–46, 53–55, 57.

6. Ibid., pp.43, 46.

7. Kenesson 1992, p.115 n95; Frothingham 1951, p.285 n44. Frothingham notes that Guillermo Joaquín de Osma, who examined the neck at the time of Huntington's purchase, also believed that it was from the missing vase, and recently, Martínez Caviró agreed. Martínez Caviró 1991, p.93.

46
VASE

Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, later gold overpainring
Málaga (Kingdom of Granada), 15th century
77.2 x 68.2 cm
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, F1903.206a

INSCRIPTIONS Deer: Good health; roundels: Good health; central band: O thou onlooker who art adorned with the splendor of the dwelling / Look at my shape today and contemplate: thou wilt see my excellence / For I appear to be made of silver and my clorhing from blossoms / My happiness lays in the hands of him who is my owner, underneath the canopy.[1]

Van de Put called this vase the "Albaicín Vase," as it was reported that its former owner, Mariano Forruny, purchased it from a tavern in the Albaicín quarter in Granada. It was sold after Fortuny's death in 1875 to the collector Charles Stein, from whose collection it was sold in 1886 to Charles Davis in London. Charles Lang Freer bought it from Davis in 1903. This partial vase, missing its collar, neck, and winglike handles, is a close cousin to several other surviving Alhambra vases including the well-known vase with a pair of luster-painted deer discovered in the Alhambra palace and now in the Museo de la Alhambra, Granada (acc. no. 290). Ettinghausen argued that the Freer vase, the vase at the Alhambra, and a partially surviving vase in Berlin with eight-pointed stars in cobalt and luster, together with the Hispanic Society neck, form a stylistic subgroup of Alhambra vases, of which perhaps the Freer vase is the latest example.[2] Its origins in Granada and its membership in this subgroup—of which two members, the vase at the Alhambra and the Hispanic Society neck, are or can be directly linked with the Alhambra palace—points to its Nasrid patronage and probable former presence at the palace. In addition to missing some of its corporal parts, the Freer vase is missing some of its glazed surface and almost all of its original luster decoration. Its present decadence only hints at its former appearance, as it must have been among the most magnificent of all of the lare Alhambra vases. What sets the Freer vase aparr from the orher vases is the inscription that encircles it in a band at its widest point. This autonomous inscription that speaks in the first person, like the inscription on the Umayyad pyxis (cat. no. 18), is similar in style and content to surviving stucco inscriptions ar the Alhambra palace that ask the viewer to contemplate beauty, and serves, through this vase, to link the group to Nasrid patronage and tastes. Clearly some of these vases were exported—at leasr one was found in Sicily—but the main destination for the Málagan workshop(s) rhat produced these vases seems to have been the Nasrid court. It should be noted that some controversy has arisen regarding the inscription on the left deer—various wild interpretarions have been offered, but what can be read in the much pock-marked glaze is *al-'afiya* (good health), matching the deer on the right side.

PUBLISHED Van de Put 1947, pl. 18b; Erringhausen 1954, pp.154–56; Nykl 1957; Atil 1973, no.78; Martínez Caviró 1991, p.93, no.83; Kenesson 1992, pp.97, fig.4, pp.108–09.

1. Translation after Nykl 1957.

2. Ettinghausen 1954, p.154.

47
DINAR (MITHQAL)

Gold
Granada, ca. 755–60/1354–91
4.66 g, diam. 33–34 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.9172

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** O ye who believe, persevere in patience and constancy, vie in such perseverance; strengthen each other and fear God that ye may prosper (Q 3:200). Struck in the city of Granada, may God watch over it. **Reverse:** The Commander, 'Abd Allah, al-Ghani bi-'llah (He who is content through the help of God) Muhamamad b. Yusuf b. Isma'il b. Nasr, May God help him and render him victorious. There is no victory but in God (repeated four times).

This dinar was struck by the eighth Nasrid Amir, Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad V, *al-Ghani bi-'llah* (r. 755–60/1354–59, 763–93/1362–91). The choice of the two-hundredth *aya* from Surat al-'Imran for the inscription on the obverse is a poignant reminder of the fragility of the

Nasrid state, sharply contrasted with the strident rhetoric of earlier Andalusi numismatic inscriptions. Muhammad V was perhaps one of the most intelligent and able rulers of the Nasrid clan. He ruled Granada twice, first as a sixteen-year-old boy, under the regency of his vizier Ridwan. Driven from Granada by a palace coup, Muhammad V sought refuge at the Marinid court in Fez, with which he maintained good relations all his life. Restored to the throne at the age of twenty-four through the agency, military skill, and ruthlessness of his contemporary, Pedro I of Castile (r. 1349–69), Muhammad V ruled for more than thirty years, first as the vassal of Pedro I, and later in alliances with Pedro's half-brother and rival Enrique II de Trastámara (r. 1366–79) and Pedro IV of Aragón (r. 1336–87). He managed with political finesse the challenges of Castile's civil war, and though he was loath to abandon his friend and supporter Pedro I for Enrique II, he maintained the integrity of Granada and increased its influence both in the peninsula and in North Africa. Muhammad V was the patron of perhaps the most opulent period of Nasrid architecture. He was responsible for building the *maristan* (hospital) in Granada in 1365, part of which survives today, as well as for enlarging the citadel at Málaga. He completed the reconstruction of the Palacio de los Comares, begun by his father, Yusuf I, and built the Palacio de los Leones, begun soon after his return from Morocco. A recent and provocative study suggests that the Palacio de los Leones was not intended as a pleasure palace, but instead was built by Muhammad V in homage to the Marinid *madrasas* in Morocco as a *madrasa-zawiya* and possibly a funerary complex.[1]

PUBLISHED Vives y Escudero 1883, no.2170; British Museum 1875, r.173.d.

1. Ruiz Souza 2000; Ruiz Souza 2001.

48
DINAR (MITHQAL)
Gold
Granada, ca. 1419–53
4.60 g, diam. 32 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.9171

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** O ye who believe, persevere in patience and constancy, vie in such perseverance; strengthen each other and fear God that ye may prosper (Q 3:200). Struck in the city of Granada, may God watch over it. **Reverse:** 'Abd Allah al-Ghalib bi-'llah (He who is victorious under God) Muhammad b. Abi al-Juyush Nasr b. Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Isma'il b. Nasr, may God help him and render him victorious. There is no victory but in God (repeated four times).

This dinar was issued by Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad IX al-Ghalib bi-'llah, *al-Aysar* (the left-handed), a grandson of Muhammad V. Muhammad IX was elevated to the Nasrid throne in 1419 after a palace coup—promoted by the powerful Banu Siraj—dethroned his ten-year-old cousin Muhammad VIII, son of Yusuf III and great-grandson of Muhammad V. The years 1419 to 1453 in Granada were characterized by abrupt changes in regime, and at times power sharing, though there were long periods of relative stability as well.[1] In 1427, Muhammad IX was forced into exile by popular revolt because he was not able to renew the truce between Granada and Castile. He sought refuge at the court of the Hafsid Abu Faris in Tunis, who two years later helped him, along with the Banu Siraj and the Castilian king, Juan II, to retake Granada. His rule was challenged briefly by a puppet king, Yusuf IV, promoted by the Castilians, and later in 1445, by the short reign of his nephew, Muhammad X, governor of Almería. Finally, he shared power with a young prince, Muhammad XI, son of Muhammad VIII. Muhammad IX was not the wisest of negotiators, and his various reigns were subject to intrigues and war, both within the Nasrid court and externally. By the end of his reign, the kingdom of Granada was living on borrowed time.

PUBLISHED Vives y Escudero 1883, no.2175; British Museum 1875, r.176.

1. Harvey 1990, pp.243–45.

49
DOBLA
Gold
Seville, ca. 1312–50
4.46 g, diam. 29–30 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York
1001.1.25567

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** ✠ ALFONSVS ✷ DEI ✷ GRACIA ✷ REX ✷ CASTELLE: (Alfonso, by the grace of God, king of Castile) *Type* Castle, "S" (Seville). **Reverse:** ✠ ALFONSVS ✷ DEI ✷ GRACIA ✷REX ✷ LEGIONIS: (Alfonso, by the grace of God, king of León) *Type* Crowned lion rampant.

Cat. nos. 49 and 50
The dobla is approximately equivalent in

weight and size to the "double dinars" of the Almohads and the Nasrids. This type of dobla, issued by Alfonso XI, king of Castile and León, is known as the "dobla castellana" because it exhibits the castle of Castile and the lion of León on the obverse and reverse respectively. As on the earlier gold maravedís, two concentric, beaded circles enclose the Latin inscription. The amount of Christian-issued gold coinage increased during the reign of Alfonso XI due to tribute payments from the kingdom of Granada, and military victories in the 1340s over the Banu Marin, who had settled in Gibraltar and Algeciras; inflation raised the value of the dobla during the reign of Alfonso XI to thirty-five maravedís. In addition to the doblas, half-doblas were also issued, but in two types of uneven weight, equivalent to four-sevenths (twenty maravedís) and three-sevenths (fifteen maravedís) the weight of the dobla. Cat. no. 50 is an example of the type of half-dobla worth twenty maravedís, indicated in Roman numerals under the castle. Though the weight and size of the half-dobla are smaller than those of the Nasrid dinars, it imitates them iconographically through the use of the square frame around the castle and lion.

50
HALF-DOBLA
Gold
Castile and León, ca. 1312–50
2.56 g, diam. 24 mm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.1.25570

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** ALFONSVS DEI GRACIA REX LEGIONIS (Alfonso, by the grace of God, king of León) *Type* Crowned lion rampant in square frame. **Reverse:** ALFONSVS DEI GRACIA REX CASTELLE (Alfonso, by the grace of God, king of Castile) *Type* Castle in square frame, XX (maravedís).

See entry for cat. no. 49.

51
SIXTEEN DIRHAMS
Silver
Granada, ca. 629–897/1230–1492
Range: 0.67–0.88 g, approx. diam. 15 x 15 mm[1]
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.57.677–693

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** There is no god but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God. **Reverse:** And there is no victory but in God, exalted. Granada.

These small, square silver coins follow the precedent set by the dirhams produced under the Almohad dynasty that the Nasrids supplanted in Granada (see cat. no. 33). They are half the weight of the old Andalusi dirhams, and have the same square format as the central frame of the Nasrid dinars. Their simple inscriptions parallel the excepted negation and confirmation of the *shahada* on the obverse *(la ilaha illa allah)* with the fatalistic motto of the Nasrid dynasty on the reverse *(la ghaliba illa allah)*. This configuration recalls the rhyming scheme on the Almohad square dirhams.

1. Weights of dirhams: *1001.57.677*.75 g, *1001.57.678*.88 g, *1001.57.679*.84 g, *1001.57.680*.86 g, *1001.57.681*.87 g, *1001.57.682*.83 g, *1001.57.683*.83 g, *1001.57.684*.854 g, *1001.57.685*.88 g (2 holes), *1001.57.686*.86 g, *1001.57.687*.86 g, *1001.57.688*.67 g (1 hole), *1001.57.689*.88 g, *1001.57.690*.86 g, *1001.57.691*.87 g, *1001.57.692*.75 g.

52
CAPITAL
Marble
Granada, ca. 1350–1400
Width of abacus: 26.2 x 25 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, D215

This marble capital was made under the patronage of the Nasrid ruler Muhammad V (see cat. no. 47). Muhammad V was patron of a number of magnificent restorations and structures at the Alhambra palace, as well as in the city of Granada. According to Antonio Fernández-Puertas, at the Alhambra he remodeled the Mexuar (reception vestibule), the private rooms around the Patio de Comares, and the Torre of Abu 'l-Juyush Nasr, and built the Palacio del Riyad (Palacio de los Leones).[1] This capital resembles but is not a replica of a number of capitals that survive in situ at the Alhambra including one in the Sala de las Camas.[2] This type of capital is also found in the upper story of the *qubba* of the Sala de las dos Hermanas, in the Sala de los Reyes, and in the upper mirador of the Sala de Abencerrajes. The capital illustrates the final evolution of Islamic marble architectonic elements in the peninsula: It is very different in form and execution from the large, classicizing capitals and bases of the Umayyads (see cat. nos. 1, 9, and 10), though the taste for marble remained constant. Marble was used extensively at the Alhambra for capitals, columns, bases, and paving stones. Often originally polychromed and gilded, these capitals have survived in the hundreds at the Alhambra, while others must have been removed when parts of the palace were dismantled for new interventions, for example, for Charles V's Renaissance-style palace built in 1526.[3]

PUBLISHED HSA 1928b, pp.13–14, pl.5.

1. Fernández-Puertas 1997, pp.5–6.
2. Marinetto Sánchez 1996, p.91, pl.24A; type 46 pp.469–72, 525, pl.101c and b; type 23 pp.351–55, 526, pl.102b.
3. For polychromed capitals see ibid., pp.153–83.

53
BAPTISMAL FONT

Tin-glazed earthenware with green glaze
Toledo, ca. 1400
64 x 86.5 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E503

This octagonal baptismal font was hand built in red clay and glazed with an opaque tin-oxide glaze; an opaque green glaze was applied over the molded decorative elements. The exterior decorative scheme comprises alternating square frames containing the cross of Golgotha with lion-head bosses on either side and three dots in the upper corners and shields framing the Christogram "Iesus Hominum Salvator" (Jesus, Savior of Men). On either side of the shields are stamped hands and eyes, the hands emphasized with green glaze. The hands and eyes are also found on the top rim at each of the eight corners and in the interior of the upper rim. A meandering border, similar to borders in near-contemporary manuscripts, forms the square frames, the shields, and the decorative band at the top of the font.[1] Hands and eyes are well-known talismanic devices in the Islamic world, used to deflect evil influences, and in this case, are probably intended to protect

FIG. 4. *Cat. no. 60, detail of illuminated border.*

FIG. 5. *Cat. no. 53, detail of thistle.*

the infant being baptized. On the exterior of the glazed, conical base is a thistle flower painted in manganese, probably the blessed thistle *(carduus benedictus)*, a plant that has anti-inflammatory and antibiotic properties and was believed to cure the plague—in this context it must have been prophylactic.[2] Documents attesting to the names of potters in fifteenth-century Toledo seem to indicate that they were Muslims.[3] Five of these Toledan baptismal fonts have survived, and two others were known before they were destroyed in the Spanish Civil War. Of the five that have survived, one is in the parish church at Villamiel in the province of Toledo, although that may not be its original site. Another, in the Taller del Moro was formerly in the Toledan parish church of San Salvador.[4] A third font, in a parish church in Camarenilla (province of Toledo), was formerly in the now-defunct Mozarabic church of San Marcos in Toledo.[5] The fourth, also apparently moved from its original location, is now in the parish church of Santa Cruz del Retamar (province of Toledo).[6] San Marcos was one of the six original Mozarabic churches in Toledo that presumably dated from the Visigothic or Muslim periods. San Salvador, on the other hand, was a neighborhood mosque before the Castilian conquest of Toledo in 1085, and its conversion is well documented in 1159. Both the churches of San Marcos and San Salvador appear in Mozarabic Arabic documents from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[7] Although the original sites of three of the surviving fonts are unknown, the Mozarabic context of the two known examples is difficult to ignore. By the fifteenth century, the Mozarabs in Toledo no longer used Arabic as their formal language, and their liturgy was always in Latin—several of the surviving fonts have gothic inscriptions, whether the Christogram "IHS" or, on the example at the Taller del Moro, "Ave Maria."[8] However, cultural habits, especially those associated with life rituals, often have great longevity, and the hands and eyes ordered by the ecclesiastical patron of the Hispanic Society font points to deep cultural Arabization. The precarious conditions prevailing in Castile and New Castile from 1349–69 due to the arrival of the black death and the civil war between Pedro I and his half-brother, Enrique II, helps to explain the use of talismanic protection for children.[9] Indeed, it was not until the 1370s that the task of repopulation and reconstruc-

tion began in Toledo and its province, and one wonders if these fonts were made in this period. Frothingham noted, after Gestoso, that later, in 1671, the synod of Málaga ordered the destruction of ceramic baptismal fonts and their substitution with fonts of stone. Clearly, some parishes refused to break with tradition: The font in the Taller del Moro remained in situ in San Salvador until 1829, while others were moved to village churches outside of Toledo proper.[10] Martínez Caviró also notes that even after the edict, smaller clay fonts were made to fit into the interior of stone fonts.[11] One wonders if in the second half of the seventeenth century, after the expulsion of the Moriscos, the edict was part of a general ecclesiastical project to suppress any traditions associated with Islam or Mudéjars even if the Mozarabs evangelized their content centuries before.

PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, pl.28; Frothingham 1936, pp.32–33, pl.6; Survey 1954, p.137, pl.112; Frothingham 1976.

1. I thank Mitchell Codding for indicating this comparison.
2. Frothingham 1976, p.103. Frothingham wondered if the thistle was a potter's mark, but cited another font, almost identical to the HSA font, that has a similar thistle. It seems more likely that it had a prophylactic value rather than representing a name, particularly if the potter was a Muslim. Flower names among Mudéjars are not usual, though there may be exceptions.
3. Martínez Caviró 1991, p.305.
4. The Taller del Moro (the Moor's atelier), now a museum of Mudéjar art, was a fourteenth-century palace in the parish of San Salvador that belonged to the Palomeque family, one of the most powerful, noble Mozarabic families in Toledo. See Molénat 1997, p.399 n166.
5. Called *jama'at shant mark* in the Mozarabic documents. See ibid., p.115.
6. Frothingham 1976; Martínez Caviró 1991, pp.309–11.
7. Ecker 2000a, vol.1, pp.33–35.
8. See Hernández 1989.
9. See Molénat 1997, pp.290–97.
10. Frothingham 1976, p.106.
11. Martínez Caviró 1991, p.309.

54
DOOR

Poplar wood, traces of gesso, polychrome, and gilding
Seville, 15th century
182 x 67 x 8.2 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, D71

INSCRIPTION Dominus: ihs: in qua: nocte: tradebatur: accepit: panem: et: gracias: agens: fregit: et: dixit: accipite: et: manducate: hoc: es[t: corpus me]um: quod: pro: vobis: tradetur hoc: facite: in: meam: comemorationem. (Lord Jesus, Savior of Men, in the same night in which he was betrayed took bread, and when he had given thanks said, "Take and eat. This is my body which is broken for you. Do this in remembrance of me" [1 Cor. 11:23–24]).

This door, in two leaves, probably served as the entrance to a room holding the host in a parish church in Seville. All of the twenty-two parish churches in Seville were once neighborhood mosques, converted after the Castilian conquest of the city in 1248. At the Great Mosque of Córdoba, converted to a cathedral in 1236, the mihrab once served as the chamber where the host was stored and this may have been the case in the smaller mosques in Seville.[1] This door, carved from two panels of solid wood, imitates the design of doors made in Nasrid Granada, fabricated from a complex structure of interlocking wooden pieces (see cat. no. 44). In this case, nails and nail holes indicate where molding must have been affixed to the surface of the door to enhance the imitation of Nasrid-style joinery. The pattern is derived from the *lazo*-of-six, one of the geometrical possibilities rendered from the superposition of two equilateral triangles. The inscription from 1 Corinthians is written in Gothic minuscule. The combination of Gothic inscription and Nasrid geometrical patterns is found on doors in the Alcázar dating from the mid-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the Hispanic Society door must have been made with these in mind. A similar door is in the collection of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.

PROVENANCE Schevitch Collection.
PUBLISHED HSA 1928c, pp.47–49, pl.15; Handbook 1938, p.64.

1. Ecker 2003, p.118

55
TEXTILE FRAGMENT

Silk threads
Probably Toledo, 15th century
188 x 171 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, H985

This compound-woven silk textile, composed of a number of similar fragments, belongs to a group of textiles that, according to May, citing Torrés

Balbás, have been attributed to Toledan workshops. A similar fragment is conserved at the Seattle Art Museum. Little, in fact, is known about the Mudéjar weavers in Toledo in the fifteenth century, and indeed, this textile may have been manufactured elsewhere. Its fineness contrasts sharply with the relative crudeness of the baptismal font (cat. no. 53) presumably made by Mudéjar potters in Toledo in the same period. The repeating pattern of mirrored leaves and crowned lions in this fragment is similar to a textile attributed to Granada in the Museu Textil i d'Indumentària, Barcelona (acc. no. 28291) whose design comprises alternating registers of Nasrid heraldic shields, lotus blossoms, and crowned lions.[1] What is perhaps most striking about this textile are its vibrant colors; the color scheme is reversed on another textile with similar leaves and confronted swans instead of lions (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels).[2]

PUBLISHED Handbook 1938, p. 279; Survey 1954, p. 131, pl.100; May 1957, p.184; Tietzel 1988.

1. See Dodds 1992, pp.340–41, no.100.
2. May 1957, p.186, fig.118.

56
TEN CORBELS

Oak
Toledo, 13th–14th century
On average, 87 x 11 x 16 cm[1]
Hispanic Society of America, New York, D51–D60

Three of these ten corbels match, while seven are different. It is possible, then, that they were made for more than one building. Judging from extant examples, they would have supported the roof of a portico around an exposed, interior courtyard. A photograph taken by Garzón in the 1880s of the Posada de la Sangre, an inn dismantled in 1936 and said to be the place where Cervantes finished writing *La ilustre fregona,* shows how the corbels were probably installed. Other, similar corbels, are still in situ in houses in Toledo, for example in the Calle de la Soledad, 2, and in the Callejón de San Pedro, 8.[2] Many other parallels exist, a few still in situ—such as those at the synagogue/church Santa María la Blanca, recently redated to the fourteenth century—and most in museum collections: for example, at the Taller del Moro, the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, the Casa de Chapíz (Granada), and a museum in Pisa.[3] Perhaps most striking in the design of these corbels is the curved palmette that sweeps back from the top volutes like the prow of a ship, in Spanish, *canecillos de proa* or *quilla,* between two vine tendrils that project outward as points. At the back of the carved section of the corbels are groups of two and three five-petaled rosettes. This type of corbel appears to have been typical of Toledan production and is completely different from the corbels that have survived in situ in Granada, for example. From the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, Mudéjar carpenters maintained a virtual monopoly in the field in most of the cities of Castile and Andalucía, and from surviving buildings, it is clear that their patrons were both ecclesiastical and noble, Christian and Jewish.[4] One of the major difficulties that remains, however, in the field of Mudéjar art is dating. Because so little contemporary documentation remains (or has been exploited), rather wild dates have been proposed for Mudéjar structures based on stylistic analyses that have not taken into account the number of Mudéjar craftsmen still

FIG. 6. *Toledo, La Posada de la Sangre. Photo by Rafael Garzón, 1880s. The Hispanic Society of America, New York, 11-1205.*

living in Christian territory—figures that are still not clear—nor the local peculiarities of production.

PROVENANCE Michael Boy Collection.
PUBLISHED HSA 1928c, pp.19–38.

1. D51: 77.5 x 11 x 16 cm; D52: 88 x 12.5 x 16.5 cm; D53: 88.5 x 11.8 x 16.4 cm; D54: 89.2 x 12 x 16.7 cm; D55: 86.5 x 11.2 x 16.5 cm; D56: 91.5 x 11.2 x 15.5 cm; D57: 85.5 x 12 x 16.5 cm; D58: 81.5 x 10.6 x 15.7 cm; D59: 92.3 x 11 x 16.4 cm; D60: 92.5 x 9.7 x 16.5 cm.
2. Martínez Caviró 1980, pp.403–4, pl.366. She dates the corbels in the Calle de la Soledad to the thirteenth century because she believes that they may have formed part of a complex of a house in (the parish of) upper San Miguel that once belonged to the Templars. The Templars were disbanded in 1312; Passini and Molénat 1995, pp.120–23.
3. For the redating of Santa María la Blanca, see Ruiz Souza 2002; for recent work on Mudéjar stucco work in Toledo, see Ruiz Souza 1999 and Rallo Gruss and Ruiz Souza 2000. The twelve corbels at the Taller del Moro, now the Provincial Museum of Art in Toledo, came from the now-defunct Hospital de Nuestra Señora de la Misericordia in Toledo. See Revuelta Tubino 1963.
4. See Ecker 2003, pp.124–26.

57
QUR'AN FOLIOS

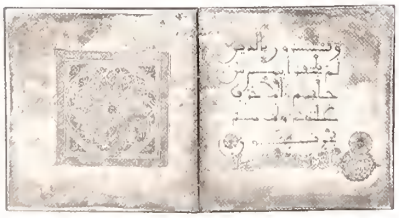
Brown ink, opaque color, and gold on parchment
Spain or North Africa, 13th century
Average folio: 21 x 20 cm
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, F1931.9

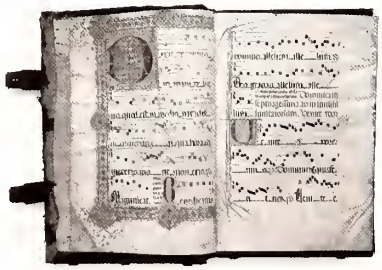
These forty folios from a beautiful square-format, sixty-part Qur'an probably date to the thirteenth century—four folios are later interpolations. Two types of calligraphy are used in this manuscript: The main text is written in a large-format, western Arabic hand that is attested in Spain from the twelfth century onward, while the chrysography (gold lettering) is written in a cursive hand called *mashriqi* (Eastern) in the western Islamic world. The strong resemblance between this particular script and the cursive script employed on Almohad coins may help to pin down a date of manufacture, but lacking the colophon, the attribution of the manuscript is problematic. The eleven Qur'ans that have survived from al-Andalus with their colophons intact range in date from 538/1143 to 624/1234, and are written in a much smaller hand that is sometimes called "Andalusi." None of the Qur'ans written in this large-format script have colophons, and although some have been attributed to Nasrid Granada, this provenance is uncertain. The problem of attribution is further compounded by the fact that many Qur'anic scribes and scholars in North Africa in the second half of the thirteenth century were émigrés from al-Andalus. The illumination, on the other hand, continues a conservative tradition that was well established in the production of Qur'anic manuscripts in al-Andalus in the twelfth century. Almost all of these square-format Qur'ans contain illuminated pages with square frames enclosing a geometrical device based on a rosette—in this case the rosette is a twelve-pointed star. The twelve-pointed star is created geometrically by the superposition of three squares or four equilateral triangles. Interestingly enough, this type of illumination based on geometry and knot patterns had repercussions in neighboring book-making traditions in Spain: Both appear in Christian and Jewish liturgical manuscripts and Bibles written almost two centuries later (see cat. nos. 58, 59, and 60).

58
ANTIPHONARY

Ink and color on parchment, leather over wooden boards, and bronze fittings
Belalcázar (Córdoba), ca. 1476–1500
64 x 15 x 45 cm; folio: 61.5 x 41.4 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, Alpha, vol.2

This antiphonary is the second of ten choir books (nine antiphonaries and one gradual) in the collection of the Hispanic Society that form a complete service for Franciscan usage. According to its title, this volume contains the *Antifonario y responsorios que comiençan desde la septuagessima hasta la domina de passion* (4th of Lent). The choir books are from the Convento de Santa Clara (Convento de Jesús de la Coluna) in Belalcázar, founded in 1476 by Doña Elvira de Zúñiga, countess of Belalcázar, as a monastery for Franciscan friars. Thirteen years later, in 1489, it became a cloistered convent for the Order of the Poor Clares, which it remains today. A five-line staff with six staves per page indicates the plainsong of the liturgical service—this notation was already antiquated by the fifteenth century and remained in use only in Spain.[1] Painted in opaque blue and red gouache, the illumination of the pages presents a combination of Gothic illumination and what has been called Mudéjar-style illumination. It is unlikely that Muslim illuminators were involved in the production of these manuscripts, and yet, the rosettes, the geometrical ornament, and the placement of illuminated initial letters in square frames is strongly influenced by Andalusi Qur'anic illumination and perhaps by textile design. Likewise, some of the scrollwork in the antiphonary's illumination is similar to scrollwork found in contemporary Hebrew Bibles (see cat. no. 60).





Certainly in the fifteenth century, the taste for Mudéjar-style woodwork and textiles was still prevalent, and the church was one of the most important patrons of Mudéjar artisans.

Spalding has argued that the choir books were made in Seville and were possibly donated to the convent by Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, bishop of Badajoz, who received a gift of four Sevillian choir books in 1499 from Isabel I and Fernando II of Aragón and donated them to the cathedral of Badajóz. He became bishop of Córdoba the same year, and may have brought Sevillian choir books to Belalcázar as well.[2] It seems more likely, however, that the convent acquired the books slightly earlier when it was still occupied by the Franciscans. The books may still have been in use, however, in the seventeenth century, as a note in volume ten attests to their restoration in 1694 by friar Manuel Murillo at the convent of Jesús de la Coluna, under the abbess, Sor Ana de San Buenaventura.

PUBLISHED Spalding 1953.

1. Spalding 1953, p.2.
2. Ibid., p.26.

59
HEBREW BIBLE

Brown and black ink on parchment
Scribe: Moshe b. Ya'akov Qalif, S[efardi] T[ahor] (the true Sephardi) b. haRav Moshe b. Qalif
Seville, 1472
23.7 x 20.3 x 9 cm; 358 folios and 4 blank folios: 23 x 18.7 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, HC:371/169

A detailed colophon informs the reader of the genesis of this Bible: "I, Moshe b. Ya'akov b. Qalif S[efardi] T[ahor] (the true Sephardi) b. haRav Moshe b. Qalif, the scribe, wrote these twenty-four books [of the Bible] that are golden and precious for my dear honored patron, Abraham ibn Eliezar. And I finished it on the twenty-eighth day of the month of Tishrei in the year 5233 (Wednesday, October 9, 1472) in Seville. May God make him worthy to enjoy it, he and his sons and the sons of his sons all their days...."[1] Bibles written in codex format were meant for individual study, and not for synagogal reading, where the Torah scroll was always used. There are two signatures on the page preceding the biblical text: a certain Moshe Qalif and Mehulal-el Gentilomo, successive owners of the manuscript. Moshe Qalif may have been a descendant of the scribe, indicating that perhaps it never reached its patron, while Gentilomo was an Italian Jew who probably sought refuge in Italy after the expulsion of 1492.

This Bible is the key to the origin of a group of seven fifteenth-century manuscripts that are similarly decorated and have been described as Hispano-Portuguese. Four of the manuscripts in the group are signed and dated by their scribes, but only one of these, a Bible written by Yizhaq Sasson in 1469, states that it was made in Córdoba (The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, Lutzki 5). Moshe b. Ya'akov Qalif who signed and dated this manuscript in Seville, signed two others, but did not state their place of manufacture (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Opp. Add. 4°26; Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, MS 2809). There is no evidence, then that these Bibles were made in Portugal, and it is likely that they were written in Andalucía. Until the late fifteenth century, Andalucía, and particularly Seville, had a large Jewish population, as well as a large and politically powerful population of *judeo-conversos,* many of whom fell under the Holy Inquisition beginning in 1480.

In this manuscript, the biblical text is preceded by ten folios of decorative texts and framed lists of verses. The decoration is accomplished through the writing of miniature text in patterns—micrography. Common in Hebrew Bibles from North Africa and Spain, micrography was used to write the Masorah, traditions concerning the writing of the text, and additional readings. The patterns in which the micrographic texts are written closely parallel geometrical designs used in Qur'anic illumination. The first double-spread of the Hispanic Society Bible are carpet pages, one a hexagram framed in a rectangle followed by a page of interlace, all formed of micrographic texts (fols. 1b and 2a). The same designs occur on folios 4b and 5a, but in reverse order, and a third pair of facing pages (5b and 6a) are interlaced leafy forms framed by knotted patterns. The remaining prefatory pages are lists of Torah readings for special occasions and further notes to the text that are framed in micrographic horseshoe arches filled with interlace. Micrographic notes also appear in the upper and lower margins of every text page of the Bible, forming geometric or floral designs. The end of each book of the Bible is marked by interlacing or other designs, and the last page of the manuscript is an additional carpet page with a framed hexagram.

PUBLISHED Hiersemann 1909, no.169.

Vivian B. Mann

1. Only one Spanish contract survives, written in Mallorca in 1335, that establishes the price for the writing and illumination of a Hebrew Bible. It indicates that the patron commissioned the Bible directly from the scribe, as is implied in the

colophon of this manuscript, and stipulates that the patron would pay ten pounds of Royal Mallorcan money for a decorated Bible, including the materials. The sum appears to be less than that paid for the commissioning of other books in the early fourteenth century, perhaps because the scribe was a minor and was relatively inexperienced.

60
HEBREW BIBLE

Ink, color, and gold on parchment
Spain and Portugal, 1450–96
28.9 x 25 x 13 cm; 588 folios and 7 blank folios: 28 x 22 cm
New York, Hispanic Society of America, B241

This Bible was written and decorated in Spain sometime after 1450, and was later brought to Portugal, probably after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. Eight additional illuminated folios in a Renaissance style were added in Lisbon between 1492 and 1497, when the Jews were expelled from Portugal. Part of the subsequent history of the manuscript is recorded on its inside cover. The Rossilhos, an impoverished family from Fez, brought the manuscript to Pisa where it was sold to Jacob Curiel (Duarte Nunes da Costa; 1585–1664) in 1618, the first Portuguese consul in Hamburg, who had returned to his Jewish faith in Italy.[1] The Bible remained in the Curiel family until 1830, when the Teixeira de Mattos family, and later the Henriquez de Castros (both of Martano origin) inherited it. David Enriquez de Castro died in Amsterdam in 1898, and the Hispanic Society acquired the Bible in 1906. This Bible was one of three manuscripts consulted by Jacob Leusden in 1667 for the publication of the second Biblia Hebraica printed by Joseph Athias.[2] It was rebound in a tooled and gilded binding, probably in Rome, between 1600 and 1650.

Ten decorative folios precede the biblical text. All but one are lists of verses in the books of the Bible that are surrounded by filigree decoration in mauve and gold and framed by delicate gold filigree frames highlighted in red and blue and by quotations from Psalms and other books of the Bible. The last full-page prefatory miniature is dedicated to temple implements but, as opposed to a double-spread containing images of numerous temple furnishings that are common in Spanish Bibles, this composition contains only a depiction of the menorah and a triangle. The menorah differs from those depicted in other Spanish Bibles in that it has small squares atop each branch and a double base. The artist may not have understood fully the subject at hand: The upended form of the triangle—the steps mounted to kindle the menorah—has little sense of substantiality. The unique style of these ten pages within the manuscript appears to be the work of an artist who is not the scribe. On some folios, the writing overlaps the bordet decoration, and the bottom border of all the prefatory pages is larget than the borders in the remainder of the Bible. The menorah painting may have been prepared for another manuscript, perhaps even a Latin one such as Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica,* with its two-page depiction of temple implements. Interestingly enough, the illumination of this Bible is similar in style and execution to the illumination in the contemporary antiphonary from Belalcázar (cat. no. 58), probably made in Seville, which may provide a clue to its place of manufacture.

Some details of the Portuguese illumination of cat. no. 60 are unlike examples in other Bibles associated with the same atelier in Lisbon. Perhaps the most striking feature is the number of text illustrations. The gaunt head draped in somber cloth that is at top right on the pages with the last sentences of 2 Kings (27–30) is a portrait of Jehoiachin, King of Judah in his thirty-seventh year of exile. He was freed from prison by the king of Babylonia, who gave him a throne, changed his clothes, and ensured his sustenance. Another text illustration of a tree appears in the bottom bordet of the first page of Psalms (470r), the text of which refers to the righteous man who "is like a tree planted beside streams of water...whose foliage never fades." But the tree serves a dual purpose: It is also the bush in which the ram caught his horns and was sacrificed in Isaac's stead (Gen. 22:13). Above, the hand of God lifts a horn, now carved into the shape of a shofar, an illusion to Psalm 47:6: "God ascends midst acclamation; the Lord, to the blasts of the horn." Finally, the incipit for 1 Kings, "The king, David..." is written in the midst of a palace and surmounted by crowns. An arrow flies from one turret to another, an allusion to the search for a beautiful woman to lie with David and watm him in his old age.

PUBLISHED Sed-Rajna 1970, no.16; Metzger 1977, no.16; Sider and Metzger 1993; Tesoros 2000, pp.166–67.

Vivian B. Mann

1. The family took its name from the Languedoc province of Rousillon, where it must have lived at one time.
2. See Sider and Metzger 1993, pp.9–10.

VALENCIAN LUSTERWARE

Based on the names *(laqab)* of potters—such as Almursi—attested in documentary sources, it is generally believed that Muslim potters working in the lusterware industry of Málaga and Murcia emigrated to the region of Valencia in the early fourteenth century. Lusterware, called "Málaga work" *(opera Maleche* or *obra de Malequa)* appears in contract documents from Manises, a town west of Valencia, from the 1320s onward. A document dated 1333 is the first to mention the use of cobalt to decorate lusterware from Manises, but it should be noted that cobalt was also used in the lusterware workshops of Málaga, as can be seen on some of the so-called Alhambra vases from the same or slightly later period (see cat. nos. 45 and 46). Until the late fifteenth century, the Manises ceramic industry was dominated by Muslim potters attested in numerous documents, and it produced the most important luxury ceramic for both local consumption and international export.[1] The prestige of these wares can be gauged by the number of noble, ecclesiastical, and royal patrons whose heraldic blazons were painted on the ceramic as part of their decorative scheme. The rise of the lusterware industry in Manises and its patronage by noble clients is usually attributed to Pedro Buyl (also written, Boil), Señor de Manises, who served as an emissary to Granada in the early fourteenth century (1308–09). Buyl apparently encouraged Málagan potters from the kingdom of Granada to settle on his lands, arranged for commissions, and took royalties of ten percent on all wares produced by his Muslim tenants.[2] After the conquest of Granada in 1492, and the ensuing forced conversion of Spanish Muslims after 1499, the names of the potters that appear in the documents are Spanish, not Arabic, but it is likely that they were Moriscos: Muslims nominally converted to Catholicism. The expulsion of the Moriscos from Valencia from 1612 to 1613 marked the decline of the lusterware industry, though the international taste for Valencian lusterware was already in decline in the second half of the sixteenth century, as Italian *majolica* (a word probably derived from the port of Palma de Mallorca) gained prominence as a luxury ware in the Mediterranean region. The technology for the production of majolica and the earliest shapes and decorative schemes were all derived from Valencian lusterware, but majolica developed in a different figurative, pictorial mode, more in line with Renaissance tastes.

1. Most of these documents were published by Osma, see bibliography Osma 1906, 1908.
2. Caiger-Smith 1985, pp.101–2.

61
BOWL
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises (Valencia), 1370s
14 x 45.7 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E643

Cat. nos. 61, 62, and 63
Cat. nos. 61, 62, and 63 represent the earliest phase of lusterware believed to have been produced at Manises. Cat. no. 61 is a bowl with four vestigial lug handles decorated with a palatial, courtyard scene.[1] At the center is an octagonal fountain, surrounded on all sides by an arcade. Four palm trees are planted around the fountain, watered by a channel represented by waving lines. Four smaller palms in the distance can be perceived through the arcades on two sides. Cat. no. 62 is a traylike dish that evokes a metalware shape and is decorated with bands of pseudo-Arabic script and a heraldic shield at the center. Cat. no. 63 is an albarello (pharmacy jar) with banded decoration: Pseudo-script is written on two bands, at the center and at the neck. Four major iconographic motifs are found on these objects: the palm, the eight-pointed star, pseudo-Arabic writing in bands, and almond-shaped ornaments. The link between cat. nos. 61 and 62 is strengthened by comparison with two traylike dishes at the Cloisters almost identical to cat. no. 62, one with an eight-pointed star and rosette at its center, and another with the

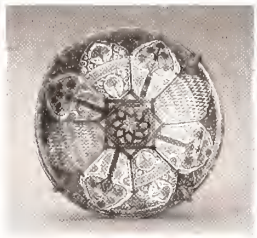


FIG. 7. *Dish with palm motif at center, Manises, ca. 1370s. Tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster. 45.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1956 (56.171.152) Photograph © 1982 The Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

palm motif.[2] Each of the four motifs has been found on shards excavated at Fustat in Egypt, indicating that these early wares may have been designed for the tastes of the Egyptian market.[3] However, the distribution appears to have been wider than the eastern Mediterranean: Wares of this phase of Valencian production also were found during road works at Pula, Sardinia, in 1897.[4] Pula-type wares can be dated by the use of similar bowls, *bacini,* that decorate church towers in Italy and Sardinia. For instance, of the early examples, the belltower at Varazze decorated with bacini was erected between 1251 and 1370—Blake dated the upper part of the tower to the mid-fourteenth century on stylistic grounds. Likewise, the belltower of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome was erected between 1370 and 1378.[5] Further corroboration of dating can be found by comparing the Valencian lusterware of this phase and Mamluk metalwork. As mentioned above, cat. no. 62 evokes a metalwork shape, probably the flat, brass trays, sometimes inlaid with silver, gold, and black compound, produced at Damascus

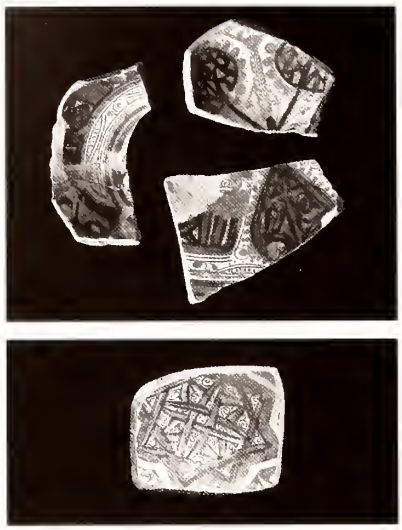


FIG. 8. *Four shards of Manises lusterware excavated at Fustat, Egypt, with palm, eight-pointed star, almond-shaped ornament, and pseudo-Arabic script motifs, Manises, ca. 1370s. The Victoria and Albert Museum, C.61-1949, C.828-1919, C.830-1919, and 1192-1897. V & A Images.*

and Cairo from around 1300 to the 1470s—the trade with Egypt would assure familiarity with Mamluk designs.[6] The design of the Hispanic Society dish imitates, more specifically, what James Allan has termed the "belted" style that characterizes inlaid metalwork produced under Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un (r. 1299–1340). One might argue that in its lusterware imitation, the luster copies engraving in brass or gold inlay, while the cobalt copies silver inlay. The undulating cobalt lines on the rim may copy the scalloped edges of some of the Mamluk trays. The date of this dish, and the other two that are related in style, must have been after 1340, and probably around the time of the construction of the Italian belltowers in the 1370s. Paralleling the workshops at Manises, the Damascus metal workshops also made objects containing heraldic shields for European monarchs and nobility that were filtered through Venetian merchants.[7] Thus on both sides of the Mediterranean two parallel industries, one in metal and the other in ceramic, supplied both local and European markets with luxury, armorial housewares.

PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, p.46, no.4, pl.3; Frothingham 1936, pp.137–38, pl.15; Handbook 1938, pp.121–22; Frothingham 1951, frontispiece; Survey 1954, p.132; Martínez Caviró 1991, p.136, pl.133; Tesoros 2000, pp.140–41.

1. The shape and decoration of cat. no. 61 is paralleled by four bowls at the Musée de Cluny, Paris.
2. Cloisters collection, acc. no. 1956 (56.171.161). This dish, with an eight-pointed star at its center, has an eagle on the reverse, much like cat. no. 62. It has parallels in a number of collections including the Louvre, the Musée Cluny, the Schlossmuseum, Berlin, the Musée Céramique, Sèvres, and the Victoria and Albert Museum.
3. Victoria and Albert Museum, palm motif: acc. no. C.61-1949; star motif: acc.no. C.828-1919; pseudo-Arabic writing: acc. no. 1192-1897; and almond-shaped ornament: acc. no. C.830-1919. See Ray 2000, pp.52, 69, nos.110, 141, 142, and 143, pl.10.
4. Blake 1986, p.366.
5. Ibid., pp.373–74.
6. Wiet 1932.
7. Ward 1993, pp.116–17.

62
DEEP PLATE

Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, 1370s
6.7 x 48.2 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E634

See entry for cat. no. 61.

The heraldic shield at the center of this plate is probably the blazon of the Despujol family from Cataluña. A number of similar plates with the same range of motifs were also made for noble Aragónese families; for example, one, made for the Despuig family, was in the collection of Earl Spencer (Victoria and Albert Museum), and another, made for the counts of Ribagorza and Prades of the house of Aragón, is in the British Museum.[1] However, the execution of the painting on both plates is crude compared with the Hispanic Society plate, and one assumes that they were made later. Additionally, neither has arcading around the inner rim, like cat. no. 62, which links it closely with its metalwork prototype.

PUBLISHED Van de Put 1911, p.27, facing plate; Barber 1915a, frontispiece; Frothingham 1936, p.lxxiii, n 74, p. 128, pp.138–39, pl.16; Frothingham 1951, pp.98–99; Survey 1954, p.134, pl.106.

1. Van de Put 1904, pp.52–54, frontispiece, p.50, pl.5.

63
ALBARELLO

Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1390
29.7 x 11 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E574

See entry for cat. no. 61.

Among the shapes produced at Manises, the albarello (It. from Ar. And., *al-barrada*, a drinking jar or vase) is among the most common. These objects were used as pharmacy jars or drug pots. The execution of the luster and cobalt painting on this albarello is simpler than that on cat. nos. 61 and 62, and it was probably made slightly later.

PROVENANCE Michael Boy Collection.
PUBLISHED Frothingham 1936, p.128, p.140, pl.17.

64
JAR

Tin-glazed earthenware with luster
Manises, ca. 1450–75
26.7 x 26.7 cm; diam. top: 16.7 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E617

This double-handled globular jar, perhaps for pharmaceutical use, though more likely for culinary use, is similar in decoration to a group of surviving objects—plates and albarellos—in which the artist used a delicate sgraffito technique to scratch through luster-painted bold, curving leaves (see cat. no. 65).[1] The intention of the sgraffito must have been to increase the reflectivity of the luster. The jar is decorated with the Christogram "IHS," which may indicate that it was intended for an ecclesiastical patron.

PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, pl.79; Frothingham 1936, p.130, pp.180–81, pl.33; Frothingham 1941, p.110; Frothingham 1951, p.186, fig.151; Survey 1954, p.133, pl.104.

1. Compare with Ray 2000, pp.81–82, nos.171–74.

65
PLATE

Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1450–75
6.7 x 44.3 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E589

Like cat. no. 64, this plate belongs to a family of objects on which a sgraffito technique was used to highlight the luster. The blazon in the center, outlined in cobalt, contains three lustered ivy leaves, but its origin is unknown. On the reverse is a large stork painted in luster, perhaps a motif identifying the potter, the workshop, or the batch. Two similar plates are at the Victoria and Albert Museum.[1]

PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, p.138, pl.40; Catalogue 1904, pl. facing p.34, obv. and rev.; Handbook 1938, p.124, rev.; Frothingham 1936, p.130, pp.178–79, pl.31; Frothingham 1951, p.142.

1. Ray 2000, pp.81–82, nos.171, 172. No. 172 has a large eagle painted on the reverse.

66
BASIN

Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1425–50
13 x 48.5 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E635

This basin, probably for handwashing, celebrates Valencia, well-known for its citrus fruits. Rows of overlapping sliced oranges linked by a knot motif adorn the rim and interior and exterior sides. On the interior base, a strapwork pattern based on a square surrounds the blazon of Castile and León (reversed), possibly indicating royal patronage. Four panels of waving lines link this object to the earliest lusterware in Manises (see cat. no. 61). The painter achieved an intensity of color and density of design that takes full advantage of the contrast between blue cobalt and orange luster, perhaps better than on any other type produced at Manises. A number of other shapes survive with this style of decoration: plates, bowls, possibly double bowls, and cylindrical jugs.[1]

PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, pl.5; Frothingham 1936, pp.144–45, frontispiece; Frothingham 1951, p.140; Martínez Caviró 1991, pp.162–63, pls. 162–63.

1. Ray 2000, p.87.

67
GALLERIED PLATE

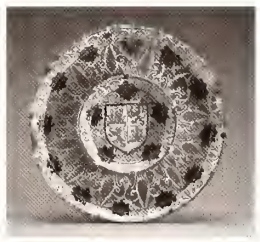
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1430–70
4.5 x 42.5 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E578

It has been argued that this type of galleried plate was designed to hold a vessel in the central compartment, perhaps a ewer, although it seems just as likely that it was designed to hold a moist dish, salad, or sauce. Vestigial lugs adorn both the inner and outer compartments. The cobalt and luster decoration on this plate is related to that on cat. nos. 64 and 65, but without the application of sgraffito. The cobalt flowers on the interior and exterior have bled because of overfiring. The central heraldic shield bears the arms of Castile and León, indicating royal patronage. A large eagle with a hare or rabbit inside a shield is painted on the reverse in luster. The motif may refer to the myth of Zeus' abduction of Ganymede, associated with messianic salvation.

PUBLISHED Catalogue 1904, pl. facing p.34, obv. and rev.; Barber 1915a, p.147, pl.42; Frothingham 1936, p.124, p.130, pp.177–78, pl.30; Frothingham 1951, pp.144–45.








68
ALBARELLO
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1430–70
32.3 x 11.2 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York,
E598

This albarello belongs to a large group of objects manufactured at Manises with a decorative motif usually called the "bryony flower" (see cat. nos. 69 and 70). The vertical strings of flowers and leaves represent white bryony, a vinelike plant that grows wild in the Mediterranean. It was used for medicinal purposes in ancient Egypt and Dioscorides categorized it as a powerful purgative. In Greek it was called *ophiostaphylon* (serpent's grapes) or *ampelos leuke* (white vine), giving the Arabic *'inab al-hayya* and *karma bayda*.[1] It is a motif that began to be used in Manises in the early fifteenth century, but remained popular for a long time. The apothecary symbol enclosed in a shield on the albarello must refer to its intended contents—Frothingham noted that it was a symbol for "powders," but added that generally apothecaries glued paper labels onto the jars, or wrote their contents on the parchment lids.[2]

PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, pl.26, no.30; Frothingham 1936, p.160, pl.23; Frothingham 1951, p.170.

1. Joaquín Bustamante Costa, personal communication, 2003.
2. Frothingham 1936, p.160; Frothingham 1951, pp.170–71.

69
BASIN
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1450–70
11.7 x 49 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York,
E619

The form of this basin, like cat. no. 66, follows a metal prototype. Whether the prototype was Mamluk is not clear, as most brass 'Ayyubid and Mamluk basins have curved sides rather than a flat rim. This type of basin, probably used for handwashing, would have been accompanied by an aquamanile.[1] It is decorated with the popular "bryony flower" design (see cat. no. 68). The presence of the Christogram "IHS" may indicate ecclesiastical patronage.

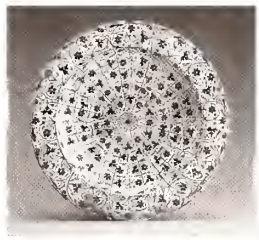
PROVENANCE Collection Émile Gaillard.
PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, pl.18; Frothingham 1936, pp.158–59, pl.22; Frothingham 1951, p.136.

1. This may be the type of object commissioned by Maria de Castilla. See Caiger-Smith 1985, p.102, first item (after Osma).

70
PLATE
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1430–70
5.7 x 39 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York,
E579

The luster of the beautifully executed "bryony flower" design on this plate is exceptionally well preserved (see cat. no. 68). It must have been made for general consumption as it lacks a heraldic shield.

PUBLISHED Frothingham 1936, pp.161–62, pl.22.



71
PLATE
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1435–75
6.8 x 46 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York,
E551

Like cat. no. 62, this plate is emblazoned with arms that probably represent the Despujol family of Cataluña, indicating their patronage of the potters of Manises over generations. The main decorative motif painted in luster and cobalt is usually referred to as the "ivy leaf" (see cat. nos. 72, 73, and 76). This style paralleled the "bryony flower" in popularity over a long period—the dating of the style is controlled by a number of objects with heraldic shields that must date from 1427–78.[1] The ivy leaves, painted in cobalt and luster were defined by the application of sgraffito. On the reverse is a large heraldic eagle painted in luster.

PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, p.86, pl.19; Folch i Torres 1928, p.1, no.1; Frothingham 1936, p.lxxiii, pp.163–64, pl.25; Handbook 1938, p.123; Frothingham 1951, pp.124–25.

1. Ray 2000, p.83.

72
ALBARELLO
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, 1435–75
32.1 x 10.8 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York,
E597

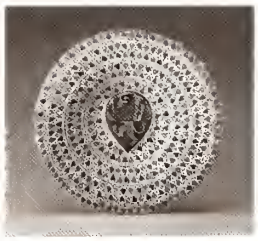
Albarellos and other objects painted with the "ivy leaf" motif appear in a number of Spanish, Italian, Flemish, and English paintings. Perhaps the best known is the Portinari Triptych (1476–79) by Hugo van der Goes at the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. The triptych, depicting the Annunciation of the Virgin, was commissioned by Tommaso Portinari, an agent of the Medici bank in Bruges, and was once installed on the high altar of the church of Sant'Egidio in Florence. Two bouquets of flowers stand before the Virgin, one in a glass of water and another in an albarello, the white flowers symbolizing her purity. The albarello must have been perceived by the Flemish painter as a most precious object.

PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, pl.26, no.39; Frothingham 1936, pp.162–63, pl.23; Frothingham 1951, p.123; Survey 1954, p.133, pl.102.

73
PLATE
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1435–75
6.5 x 45 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York,
E570

The "ivy leaf" design was popular with Italian patrons of Manises, such as the Gentili family of Florence that commissioned this plate. On the reverse is a large spiral painted in luster.

PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, pl.22; Frothingham 1936, p.167, pl.27.



74
PLATE
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1470–1500
7 x 45 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York,
E610

This plate represents a shift in taste in the lusterware industry in the final decades of the fifteenth century. These "ribbed" wares, mainly plates, were made in a mold and sometimes have raised studs, imitating metalwork.[1] In this example, the alternating luster and cobalt stripes on the ribs imitate the contrasting colors of glazed roof tiles. Each compartment is painted with a contrasting pattern in luster, perhaps imitating textile designs. Other plates of this type have a consistent chainlike pattern that provides an illusion of the texture of basketry or chain mail. The patron of the heraldic blazon at the center containing a white, rampant lion remains unidentified. Like most of the wares of this type, the reverse is decorated with a design of featherlike leaves painted in luster.

PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, pl.34; Frothingham 1936, p.189, pl.35; Frothingham 1951, p.146, fig.108.

1. See Ray 2000, pp.93–94.

75
DEEP PLATE
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1480–1500
9.5 x 37.5 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York,
E625

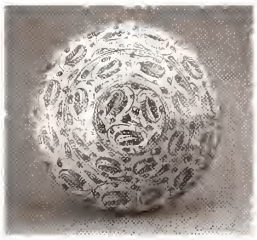
Similar in concept and contemporary to the "ribbed" wares are the "gadrooned" wares. These plates, basins, vases, and other shapes have raised wheel-like gadroons, molded or hand built, and are decorated with a series of contrasting floral patterns that provide an illusion of texture. The cobalt provides definition to what is essentially an exercise in luster painting. This basin has a central blazon of an unidentified patron with three white fleur-de-lis.

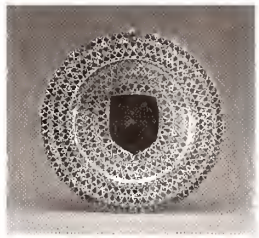
PROVENANCE Michael Boy Collection.
PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, pl.57, pl. facing p.36, no.3; Frothingham 1936, pp.196–97, pl.39; Frothingham 1951, pp.152–53.

76
PLATE
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1435–75
7.4 x 43 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York,
E590

This plate is an example of the small "ivy leaf" decorative pattern painted exclusively in a coppery luster color. The leaves are defined by the use of sgraffito. The blazon at center may represent the arms of Giovanni Aleotto, condottiere of Pisa, or that of the Truvarge family. On the reverse is a large spiral painted in luster.

PUBLISHED Catalogue 1894, pl. facing p.4, no.4; Catalogue 1904, pl. facing p.26; Barber 1915a, pl.21; Frothingham 1936, pp.167–68, pl.28.


77
PLATE

Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1480–99
6 x 46 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E577

This plate represents a crucial piece of evidence for the dating of "gadrooned" ware, as it bears the arms of Joan Payo Coello, abbot of Poblet (1480–99). Payo Coello, from a noble Portuguese family, was responsible for building the monastery at Poblet, and he directed it until his death in 1499. He was a favorite of Isabel I and Fernando II, who visited the monastery in 1493 after the conquest of Granada.[1] The gadroons on this plate are painted in luster, but not in raised relief.

PROVENANCE Michael Boy Collection.
PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, pl.54; Evans 1920, pl.18, no.72; Handbook 1938, p.123; Frothingham 1936, p.lxxiii, p.131, pp.192–93, pl.37; Frothingham 1951, p.149; Survey 1954, p.135, pl.108.

78
PLATE

Tin-glazed earthenware with luster
Manises, ca. 1468–1516
5 x 47.5 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E651

INSCRIPTION SVRGE DOMINE (Arise, O Lord!).

The heraldic shield at the center of this plate bears the arms of Sicily. Barber dated it to the seventeenth century, while Van de Put wrote "the purity of design… would seem utterly to preclude a date later than 1530."[1] There is some circumstantial evidence to support Van de Put's earlier dating—in fact, a date before 1516 and possibly as early as 1468 seems plausible. The repeating inscription on the plate, "surge domine" is taken from Psalms, where it appears six times (17:13, 3:7, 7:6, 9:19, 10:12, and 132:8).[2] The only conspicuous iconographic matching of a heraldic shield with a paraphrase from Psalms during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is on the coins of Isabel I of Castile and Fernando II of Aragón. The marginal inscription around their combined arms, for example, on the obverse of cat. no. 89, paraphrases Psalm 17:8 (Vulgate 16:8) … *custodi me quasi pupillam intus in oculo in umbra alarum tuarum protege me* (Keep me as the apple of the eye, protect me under the shadow of thy wings). Verse 13 of the same psalm reads: *Surge domine praeveni faciem eius incurva eum salva animam meam ab impio qui est gladius tuus* (Arise, O Lord! Disappoint him, cast him down, deliver my soul from the wicked, which is thy sword). It is possible, then, that the plate was commissioned by Fernando II (d. 1516), either before his marriage to Isabel I of Castile in 1468, when he became ruler of Sicily, or possibly to mark a significant occasion during his reign. The plate, with its double concentric inscriptions and central blazon, in fact, resembles the obverse of a coin, and is quite different from other plates made in Manises around 1500. Another, cruder plate in the Hispanic Society's collection inscribed "surge domine," and with a rabbit in the central shield, must have been made much later.[3] Two lusterware plates in the British Museum, one from the Godman Collection, are decorated with the same arms, and Van de Put argued that they were made between 1468 and 1500.[4] That Isabel I and Fernando II were patrons of the luster potters of Manises after their marriage is evinced by a number of surviving plates with their combined arms, one in the Victoria and Albert Museum. None of these plates include the pomegranate in the lower point of the shield, which was incorporated after the conquest of Granada in 1492 (see cat. no. 89), suggesting that they were made before the conquest.[5] It is worth noting that several of the "surge domine" verses in Psalms concern military themes and the struggle between the chosen people and the pagans: for example, Psalms 3:7, "Arise, O Lord! Save me, O my God! For thou hast smitten all mine enemies upon the cheekbone, thou hast broken the teeth of the ungodly"; Psalms 7:6, "Arise, O Lord! In thine anger, lift up thyself because of the rage of mine enemies, and

awake for me to the judgment that thou hast commanded"; and Psalms 9:19, "Arise, O Lord! Let not man prevail, let the heathen be judged in thy sight." It is certainly possible that the inscription was chosen to celebrate a political or military triumph over the Muslims, or alternatively, the selection was made in the messianic mood that the half-millennium and the discovery of the Americas evoked.

PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, pl.73; Frothingham 1936, p.209, pl.43; Handbook 1938, p.124; Frothingham 1951, p.156; Survey 1954, p.137, pl.111.

1. Frothingham 1936, p.209.
2. Ray 2000, p.99, offers a different interpretation based on a group of objects bearing the "surge domine" inscription that must be later than this plate, like HSA E641 (see below). The phrase "surge domine" is from the Vulgate translated from Hebrew. Ray mentions one object in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inscribed "Exsurge domine ad liberandum nos" (Arise, Lord, to free us), which follows the form of the Vulgate translated from Greek (exsurge), but does not correspond to any particular passage. Perhaps the Ashmolean inscription represents a later attempt to "Christianize" in the sixteenth century what was originally a reference to an Old Testament text, like the inscription on another sixteenth-century plate: "In principio erat verbum." Ray claims that "it is not known why such dishes should have been popular at this particular moment." Obviously, there is a problem here that cannot be properly dealt with in the context of this catalogue. However, the interpretation offered here, which links the earlier "surge domine" inscription with the heraldic shield of Fernando II of Aragón and his psalmic, numismatic inscription, may provide a new avenue for research.
3. HSA E641. See Frothingham 1936, pp.209–10, pl.43.
4. Van de Put 1904, pp.90–91, pl.28.
5. Ibid., pp.92–93, pl.29.

79
PLATE
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1400–30
5.3 x 28.1 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E586

INSCRIPTION Ave Maria Gra[tia] Plena (Hail Mary, full of grace).

This plate belongs to a series that Ray has called the "Ave Maria" group. Examples of these plates have been excavated at sites in Spain, England, the Netherlands, Egypt, and Italy, including two secular sites destroyed before 1415.[1] Manufactured for a broad market, these are perhaps the first wares produced at Manises that include pious Christian phrases written in Gothic script. This plate has a cobalt crowing bird at center, surrounded by disklike flowers painted in luster. Other animals, including lions, deers, and dragons, were also represented on this type of ware. Additional pious and secular inscriptions exist, but the "Ave Maria" inscription is the most common.

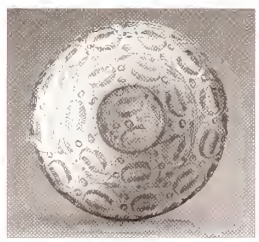
PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, pl.8; Evans 1920, pl.18, no.73; Frothingham 1936, pp.146–147, pl.18; Handbook 1938, p.121.

1. Ray 2000, p.69.

80
PLATE
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Manises, ca. 1500–25
6.5 x 47.5 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E599

While striking, this plate, with its large superimposed, rampant lion illustrates the beginning of the decadence of Manises lusterware in the early sixteenth century. The lions, deers, and dragons represented on these unusual plates are no longer confined by the boundaries of the heraldic shield and occupy the entire plate surface. Probably made for general consumption rather than private commission, these plates have their origin in earlier plates that are contemporary with the "gadrooned" style with large, incised animals. Like the molding and studs on the "ribbed" plates, incising is a technique that originates in engraving and the decoration of metalwork. In the later versions, as on this plate, the large animal is outlined in cobalt without incising and is filled with a small, repeating pattern in luster that provides a sense of texture. The luster ground behind the figure is painted in a floral style. A similar plate with a large bull is in the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid.[1]

PUBLISHED Barber 1915a, pl.38;



Frothingham 1936, pp.195–96, pl.37; Frothingham 1951, p.162, fig.126

1. Martínez Caviró 1991, p.187, pl.192; another plate with a dragon is at the Metropolitan Museum, and a plate with a large deer is at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

81
PLATE
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cobalt and luster
Valencia or Cataluña, ca. 1525–75
8 x 40.5 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E688

This plate represents one of the last phases of Morisco lusterware produced at Manises. These wares, mainly plates, all have a dentillated border that may derive from metalwork, while their iconography tends to the depiction of animals, birds, and, on this plate, a rider on a caparisoned horse. Figurative decoration was never common on wares produced at Manises, and contemporary majolica wares produced in Italy may have inspired the rider on this plate. The rider's costume is of a recognizable Spanish type from the early to mid-sixteenth century.[1] Another plate with a similar rider is at the Museo de Arte Decorativo, Madrid.

PUBLISHED Catalogue 1904, pl. facing p.28; Barber 1915a, pl.81; Handbook 1938, p.124; Frothingham 1936, pp.133–34, pp.183–84, pl.33; Frothingham 1951, p.164.

1. Ray 2000, p.129, notes that Frothingham dated the rider's costume to the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, but this dating has been disputed by other scholars, and Ray accepts the earlier dating. Cat. no. 81 is, in fact, quite different from Spanish ware with a secure dating in the early seventeenth century.

82
FLOOR TILE
Tin-glazed earthenware
with cuerda seca decoration
Toledo, 15th century
14 x 13.8 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E1326

The cuerda seca (dry cord) technique was designed as a means to decorate ceramic objects with colored, lead-fluxed glazes. Prior to the development of cuerda seca, the primary means for the multicolor decoration of ceramics was overpainting, luster, and underpainting. Perhaps taking its cue from resist-dyed textiles or cloisonné enamelwork, the cuerda seca technique employs a mixture of a mineral, such as manganese oxide, and oil, fat, or wax that is drawn on the ceramic surface with a brush, creating borders of cells that can be painted with glaze. The waxy mixture helps to prevent the glazes from running during firing and burns away to leave a dry, unglazed line. Less laborious than the production of cut-tile work, in which glazed tiles in various single colors were cut into shapes and assembled in a mosaic pattern, the cuerda seca technique was brought to Spain, probably from Iraq, in the tenth century, evinced by excavated examples in caliphal contexts. Ceramic objects decorated in this technique survive from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though a revival seems to have been sponsored by Isabel I and Fernando II of Aragón, and Carlos V, perhaps in a single workshop, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The two major Mudéjar centers for the production of cuerda seca wares—tiles, architectonic elements, plates, and vessels—in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were Seville and Toledo. This tile with its three superimposed six-pointed stars in yellow, white, and white strapwork is said to have come from the Transito Synagogue in Toledo. The synagogue was founded by Shmuel haLeví, treasurer of Pedro I of Castile, in 5122/1361–62, according to a Hebrew inscription flanking the arches preceding the tabernacle of the Torah. It functioned as a synagogue until the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, when it was donated to the Order of Calatrava and consecrated under the protection of Nuestra Señora del Tránsito. The cuerda seca tilework must have been added sometime in the fifteenth century under subsequent patrons. Toledo was home to the largest Jewish community in Spain from the eleventh century to the end of the fifteenth century, and at least ten synagogues were built there, more than in any other city. True cuerda seca tiles, like this one, were expensive to make, as the design on each one had to be drawn by hand, and they were also difficult to fire. Their production was phased out with the introduction of the "cuenca style" or *arista* tile in the sixteenth century, a tile produced in a mold in which small ridges defined the areas to be filled with glaze. The "cuenca style" tile was more suited to mass production and prompted a veritable explosion of tilework for the decoration of walls and ceilings in domestic and public settings. An identical, hexagonal tile is at the Victoria and Albert Museum.[1]

PUBLISHED Barber 1915b, pl.37, no.142.

1. Ray 2000, p.336, no.766, acc.no. 308:296–1866.

83
PLATE

Earthenware with cuetda seca decotation
Seville, ca. 1500
5.5 x 38 cm
Hispanic Society of Ametica, New York, E501

Cat. nos. 83 and 84
These two plates must belong to the revival of cuerda seca production in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (see cat. no. 82). Cat. no. 83 depicts a dragon dtawn in a Renaissance style, and cat. no. 84 depicts a harpy, a mythical feminine, bird-creature from the Islamic repertoire.[1] Because of their uneven surfaces, these plates wete probably intended as decorative rather than functional household wares.

PUBLISHED Barber 1915b, pl.23; Frothingham 1936, p.22; Tesoros 2000, pp.172–73.

1. Ray 2000, p.35.

84
PLATE

Earthenware with cuerda seca decoration
Seville, ca. 1500
6.3 x 39.5 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, E502

See entry for cat. no. 83.

PUBLISHED Batber 1915b, pl.22; Ftothingham 1936, p.23, pl.3; Handbook 1938, p.115; Tesoros 2000, pp.172–73.

85
ARMORIAL CARPET

Goat hair
Letur (Murcia), ca. 1416–58
502 x 238 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, H328

Only ten armorial carpets woven by Spanish Muslim weavers in the early fifteenth century are known. They are the oldest carpets of this type, and the earliest to have survived from medieval Spain.[1] A fresco painting by Matteo de Giovanetto, dated 1344–46, at the Palace of the Popes at Avignon depicts a similat armorial carpet, and thus the beginning of the production of this type of rug perhaps can be dated to the early fourteenth century.[2] The Hispanic Society carpet is similar in style and execution to carpets that are believed to have been made in Letur, an inland town in the ptovince of Murcia and, in the early fifteenth centuty, part of the kingdom of Atagón. Its patron was María de Castilla, daughter of Enrique III and Catherine of Lancaster, who in 1415, at the age of thirteen, married het cousin (on the Trastámara side) Alfonso, prince of Gerona and heir to the thrones of Aragón and Sicily. In 1416, Alfonso succeeded his father, Fernando I, as Alfonso V. The five armorial shields woven into the carpet combine the blazons of Castile and León with that of Aragón, and thus the carpet must have been woven sometime after 1416. In 1443, Alfonso V left his Spanish possessions under the regency of María de Castilla and moved to Naples, where he was recognized as king. María de Castilla died in 1458, and it is not known when she commissioned the carpet, though it may have been when she was regent of Aragón. A smaller carpet and carpet fragment with similar shields that she must have commissioned as well are at the Detroit Institute of Arts and the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.[3] The three carpets were sent to the royal convent of Santa Isabel de los Reyes in Toledo (founded in 1477) perhaps after María de Castilla's death, where they survived until the nineteenth century. Archet Huntington acquited the Hispanic Society carpet in 1901 and presented it to the Hispanic Society in 1934. The Hispanic Society carpet imitates a mosaic floor of octagons with figurative and geometrical designs, and has a bordet of pseudo-Kufic writing. It is woven with the Spanish knot, 120 to the square inch. The watp is a Z2S twist and the weft a 2Z x 1, both in ivory-colored goat hait. The pile, now mostly worn, is dyed ivory, brown, light yellow, tan, dull tose red, dark medium blue, and medium blue. María de Castilla's taste for the wotk of Mudéjar artisans was not limited to rugs—she also commissioned two sets of luster dishes from Manises in 1454 and 1455, from which at least two dishes have survived, one at the Victoria and Albett Museum and the othet at the Musée Céramique, Sèvres.[4] The documentation for these commissions, detailing the desited ceramic forms, shows that these items were used as household items in an elegant setting.[5]

PUBLISHED Amador de los Ríos 1905,

p.303; Ezquerra del Bayo 1929, pl.2; Faraday 1929, p.45, fig.29; Handbook 1938, p.130, fig.98; May 1945, figs.1–13, 35; Survey 1954, p.130, pl.98; Allard 1963, pp.20–21, figs.16–17; Weeks and Treganowan 1969, p.16; May 1972, p.59; May 1977, pp.9–11; Tesoros 2000, pp.150–51.

1. Mackie 1977, p.15.
2. Kühnel and Bellinger 1953, p.2; Mackie 1977, p.23.
3. DIA acc. no. 43.75; TM acc. no. R84.18.
4. V&A acc. no. 243-1853. See Van de Put 1904, pp.57–60, pls.7–9.
5. Osma 1906; Caiger-Smith 1985, pp.102–3.

86
CHEST

Walnut with ivory inlay
Probably Barcelona, ca. 1500–1600
30.5 x 67 x 44 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, S55

This chest, designed to rest on a tabletop, contains sliding drawers that may have been used to hold valuables, dressing items, or perhaps, writing implements. Its elaborate ivory inlay in geometrical and floral patterns recalls woven textiles, carpets, and embroidery. The decorated front panel shares the framed design of the armorial carpet of María de Castilla (cat. no. 85) while the star pattern on the interior of its lid recalls the rosettes found in manuscript illumination, both Islamic and Mudéjar (see cat. nos. 57 and 58). This type of exuberant, inlaid decoration is typical of luxury furniture produced in Spain in the sixteenth century, though its origins lie in the much older tradition of Islamic marquetry. Perhaps the oldest surviving example of ivory inlay in walnut from al-Andalus is the exquisite minbar of the Kutubiyya Mosque in Marrakech, made in Córdoba, which was probably commissioned by the Almoravid ruler 'Ali b Yusuf b. Tashufin (see cat. no. 26) in 1137.[1] Its likely model was the minbar at the Great Mosque of Córdoba, no longer extant, commissioned by al-Hakam II in 366 /976, and described as being inlaid with red and yellow sandalwood, ebony, ivory, and Indian aloewood. A number of inlaid wooden objects have survived from Nasrid Granada including doors at the Museo de la Alhambra and a chest with compartments in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, similar to the Hispanic Society chest, which Juan Zozaya has catalogued as a writing desk.[2] It is certainly possible that these smaller chests were the embryonic form of the *vargueño*, the distinctive drop-front desk of baroque Spain. It is not known who made the Hispanic Society chest, but its maker, probably from Barcelona, continued to work in a mode brought to the Christian north by Mudéjar artisans.

PUBLISHED Hungerford 1917, p.28; Byne and Stapely 1921, vol.1, pl.87; Survey 1954, p.118, p.128, pl.96; Tesoros 2000, pp.208–9.

1. Bloom 1998.
2. Dodds 1992, pp.372–73, no.118, pp.268–69, no.53: MA acc. no. 190, MAN acc. no. 72/105 2.

87
PORTOLAN CHART

Ink and color on parchment
By Pere Rosell
Mallorca, 1468
58 x 90 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, K35

European sea captains and cartographers in the fifteenth century were the recipients of a long, Arab tradition of voyage and discovery. One conceptual advantage that medieval Arab geographers had was that they perceived the world as spherical—the Atlantic Ocean was sometimes called in Arabic *al-bahr al-muhit,* the circumambient sea. There are early Arabic literary descriptions of various journeys undertaken to the West, including one from Córdoba in the tenth century, and another, perhaps to one of the islands off the coast of Morocco, in the twelfth century under the Almoravids. A fourteenth-century expedition from Mali may have reached Brazil and discovered the Amazon basin.[1] The origins of Arabic navigation and map making can be found in the work of eleventh- and twelfth-century cartographers, the most famous of whom was al-Idrisi (1099–1166) whose patron was the Sicilian, Norman king Roger II (r. 1112– 1154).[2] Al-Idrisi created a world map in 549/1154, among other navigational instruments for his patron, that would still be consulted in the fourteenth century. By the twelfth century, Arab navigators had learned the use of the compass from the Chinese, and soon introduced it to European seafarers.[3] It was the compass that permitted the recording of the directions of the winds and the relationships between ports that would be collated later in portolan charts.

Portolan charts first appeared in the thirteenth century, the oldest surviving chart being the *Carte Pisane* (ca. 1275–91). By the fourteenth century, Pedro IV of Aragón (r. 1336–87) ordered that all ships carry at least two of this type of sailing chart.[4] Portolan charts are

so named because they indicate the locations of ports; they were developed to record navigational problems in the Mediterranean, resolved over many generations.[5] They are among the earliest maps not based on mathematical or philosophical projection, but rather on measurements of distance and observation of the direction of winds. The rhumb lines that cross the charts, centered on points, may represent wind directions. The earliest of these charts bear images with the names of the winds in Latin: Tramontana (north wind), Greco (northeast wind), Levante (east wind), Scirocco (southeast wind), Ostro (south wind), Libeccio (southwest wind), Ponente (west wind), and Maestro (northwest wind). Later charts replace the names and depictions of the winds with compass roses, as on this example where the depictions of the north and south winds are replaced with compasses.[6]

The Mallorcan cartographer Pere Rosell (in Latin, Petrus Roselli), teacher of the cartographer Arnaldo Doménech, drew this portolan chart. The chart is signed in the upper-right corner *Petrus roselli composuit hanc cartam in civitate Maioricarum anno domini M cccc lx iij.* He was of *judeo-converso* origin, and was one of the most prolific cartographers of the Catalan school, producing fourteen, or perhaps fifteen, surviving charts from 1447 to 1489.[7] Many of the cartographers of the Catalan school, based in Mallorca, were Jews, and after the pogroms of 1391, *judeo-conversos.* Perhaps the most famous was Cresques Abraham (d. 1387), a compass maker and cartographer who was responsible for the seminal *Atlas Catalán* (1375) at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Rosell's chart of 1468 depicts the ports of the Mediterranean and extends north to the Baltic Sea, which is colored with waving blue green lines, and south into North Africa, which is indicated by tents and elephants. By Mallorcan convention, the Red Sea is colored red, while other bodies of water are left plain. The green, snaking lines and masses depict mountain ranges, the largest of which on this chart are the Atlas Mountains. Also depicted are the Alps, the Carpathians, the Sierra Nevada, and Mt. Sinai.[8] Castles represent larger cities, flags and shields indicate sovereignty, and Aragón's dominance in the western Mediterranean is shown in the shields covering parts of Morocco, Sardinia, Sicily, and the Balearic Islands. Although this chart makes use of some outdated cartographic information, corrected in Rosell's later charts, it illustrates, beyond its purpose as a sailing guide, the economic and political concerns of Spain, and in particular of Aragón, in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.[9] The thrust of maritime trade was to the east, the north, and the south; the Inquisition had not yet begun to scatter or crush *judeo-conversos,* such as Rosell, and the two major impulses for Columbus' exploration for a new route to the Indies—the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain—was still two decades off.

PUBLISHED Stevenson 1911, pp.33–35, pl.2; Stevenson 1916, pl.2; Winter 1952; Rey Pastor and García Camarero 1960, p.79; Cortesão 1969, p.152; Mollat du Jourdin et al. 1984, pp.208–9; Campbell 1986, pp.67–94; Campbell 1987, pp.431–32, 461; Sider, Andreasian, and Codding 1992, p.3, p.5, fig. 4.

1. Hamdani 1992, pp.274–77.
2. Sixteenth-century navigators cited the work of other cartographers of this early period whose work is now lost. See ibid., p.289.
3. Ibid., pp.291–93.
4. Sider, Andreasian, and Codding 1992, p.xiii.
5. Liter Mayayo and Martín-Merás 2001, p.22.
6. Stevenson 1911, pp.21–22.
7. Winter 1952; Rey Pastor and García Camarero 1960, pp.75–76.
8. Stevenson 1911, p.34.
9. Sider, Andreasian, and Codding 1992, p.xv.

88
MAP OF THE WORLD (PLANISPHERE)

Ink and color on four sheets of parchment
By Juan Vespucci
Seville, 1526
85 x 262 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, K42

This *mappamundi,* in four parts, was drawn by the Florentine cartographer Juan (Giovanni) Vespucci, nephew of Amérigo Vespucci, in the Casa de Contratación in Seville. Isabel I and Fernando II of Aragón established the Casa de Contratación in 1503 for the purpose of maintaining control over traffic, trade, and information about discoveries in the New World. Sea captains, upon their return, were obliged to inform the cartographers at Seville of newly discovered zones and to provide geographical information. From 1512, this data was compiled in an official map, the Padrón Real, from which copies were made and distributed to captains navigating the Spanish fleets.[1] Juan Vespucci's "Map of the World" appears to be one of these copies.[2] The first official appointed at the helm of the Casa de la Contratacíon was the ecclesiastic Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca (1451–1524), the former bishop of Badajóz who may have brought the Sevillian choir books to the convent at Belalcázar (see cat. no. 58). Later, the Casa was administered by a royal council, and finally, in 1524, by the Consejo de Indias. The task of creating the Padrón Real, at the time, a secret offi-

cial document, was entrusted to the Piloto Mayor (chief captain). The first captain to hold this post was Amérigo Vespucci, from 1508 until his death in 1512. His nephew, Juan, was a navigator and captain, but never was promoted to the position of Piloto Mayor. Vespucci's copy of the Padrón Real was made under the authority of the Piloto Mayor Sebastián Cabot (1518–48), and is signed *Ju[an] Vespuchi piloto de sus ma[jes]ta[des] me fezit en seujlla [a]ño d. 1526.*[3]

The map is set out like a portolan chart, with compass roses distributed across the surface and crisscrossing rhumb lines. The Mallorcan portolan conventions for the color of the Red Sea, the depiction of cities as castles, the snakelike depiction of mountain ranges, and the naming of port cities are maintained. The map encompasses the Philippines and eastern coast of the Americas in the west to the island of Sri Lanka in the east. What is most striking about it, other than its great size, is its transmission of the perception of Spain as a superpower at the center of the world. Spanish ships are shown sailing in all of the world's major oceans, and in particular, back and forth from the Americas. The Mediterranean and Baltic Seas, formerly the focus of Spanish chart making, are stunted by comparison with the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans. In the three decades since the fall of Granada and the discovery of the New World, Spain appears transformed from a European power with local concerns into an international empire. Any pessimism is allayed by the heraldic eagle—the rather somber monarchal symbol of St. John the Evangelist under Isabel I and Fernando II of Aragón (see cat. no. 89) was energized under the emperor Carlos V—that dominates the Americas with its upturned wings and two heads monitoring east and west.

PUBLISHED Quaritch 1914, pp.1–8; Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota 1960, vol.5, pl.613; Nebenzahl 1990, pp.85–87; Sider, Andreasian, and Codding 1992, pp.13–16, fig.9; Paladini Cuadrado 1999; Tesoros 2000, pp.196–99.

1. Líter Mayayo and Martín-Merás 2001, pp.36–37.
2. Sider, Andreasian, and Codding 1992, p.13.
3. Líter Mayayo and Martín-Merás 2001, p. 23.

89
FIFTY EXCELENTES

Gold
Seville, ca. 1497–1504
175.908 g, diam 6.6 cm
Hispanic Society of America, New York, 1001.57.2040

INSCRIPTIONS **Obverse:** XXXXX S[evilla] REX. FERNANDVS : ET : ELISABET : DEI GRATIA : REX : ET : REGINA : CAStiella ✤ (50, Seville, King. Fernando and Isabel by the grace of God, king and queen of Castile) *Type* Confronted bust portraits. **Reverse:** SVB : VMBRA : ALARVM : TVARVM : PROTEGE NOS (Protect us under the shadow of your wings [Psalm 17:8]) *Type* Shield containing blazons of Castile and León, Aragón and Sicily, and Granada, sheltered by the eagle of St. John.

Isabel of Castile wed Fernando of Aragón in 1468. After the deaths of Isabel's brother, Enrique IV of Castile, in 1474, and Fernando's father, Juan II of Aragón, in 1479, the kingdoms of Castile and Aragón were united politically. In 1475, the Castilian monetary system was reformed by increasing the metallic value of gold and silver coins, and by implementing a change of type: on the obverse a double portrait of the two monarchs and on the reverse the blazons of Castile and León, and Aragón and Sicily, sheltered by the wings of the eagle of St. John the Evangelist with an inscription paraphrased from Psalms invoking the protection of God (see cat. no. 78). The symbolism of a unified royal authority united with the church could not have been more explicit. The new gold coins were called *excelente* on account of their high gold content. In 1497, new regulations (La Pragmática de Medina del Campo, on June 13) brought about another monetary reform, this time adopting the weight standard of the Venetian ducado, a coin that was already in widespread use, especially in the kingdom of Aragón. The new coinage was called *excelente de la granada,* as the heraldic shield on the reverse contains a pomegranate *(pomme de granade)* in its lower point, representing the incorporation of the kingdom of Granada into the dominions of the Catholic Kings in 1492. These gold coins were minted in the multiples of ten, twenty, and fifty excelentes.[1] This large and heavy coin from the collection of the Hispanic Society is a unique example of the denomination of fifty excelentes. Exemplars of ten and twenty excelente coins are also rare, indicating that they did not circulate, but rather were intended as presentation pieces, perhaps as gifts or as pious donations. The ostentation of this coin, larger than any coin minted before in Spain, boasts the authority of the Catholic monarchy over its revenues in gold, once paid in tribute by Granada, and now brought from New Spain. Columbus, the purveyor of much of that wealth, wrote, "Gold constitutes treasure, and he who possesses it may do what he will in the world, and may so attain as to bring souls to Paradise."[2] Who knew that banking could be so effective?

PUBLISHED Tesoros 2000, pp.178–79.

1. Gabinete Numismático 1999, pp.101–4.
2. Kagan 1991, p.60.

13

Obverse
لا إله إلا \ الله وحده ى (sic) \ لا شريك له (Q 6:163)

Margin
محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون (Q 9:33)

Reverse
محمد \ رسول الله \ امير المؤمنين \ عبد الرحمن

Margin
ضرب هذا الدينار بالأندلس سنة سبع عشرة وثلاثمئة

14

Obverse
لا إله إلا \ الله وحده \ لا شريك له (Q 6:163) \ محمد

Margin
ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة الزهراء سنة سبع وثلثين وثلاثمئة

Reverse
الامام النصير \ لدين الله عبد الرحمن \ امير المؤمنين

Margin
محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون (Q 9:33)

15

Obverse
لا إله إلا \ الله وحده \ لا شريك له (Q 6:163) \ محمد

Margin
بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة (الزهراء pierced) سنة ثمان وثلثين وثلثمائة

Reverse
الامام الناصير \ لدين الله عبد الرحمن \ امير المؤمنين

Margin
محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله (ولو كره المشركون very worn)

16

Obverse
لا إله إلا \ الله وحده \ لا شريك له (Q 6:163)

Margin
(محمد damaged) رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره ع (لى الدين كله damaged) (Q 9:33)

Reverse
الامام الحكم \ امير المؤمنين \ المستنصر بالله \ يحى

Margin
بسم الله (ضرب هذا misregistered) الدينار بمدينة الزهراء سنة ثلث وستين

17

Obverse
لا إله إلا \ الله وحده \ لا شريك له (Q 6:163) \ محمد

Margin
بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالاندلس سنة ثمان وثمانين وا (illegible)

Reverse
الامام هشام \ امير المؤمنين \ المُؤَيد بالله \ عامل

Margin
محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو ... (Q 9:33)

6

Obverse
لا إله إ - \ لا الله \ وحده

Margin
محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهُدى ودين الحق (Q 9:33)

Reverse
بسم الله \ الرحمن \ الرحيم

Margin
ضرب هذا الدينار بالأندلس سنة اثنتين ومئة

7

Obverse
لا إله إ - \ لا الله \ وحده

Margin
محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهُدى ودين الحق (Q 9:33)

Reverse
بسم الله \ الرحمن \ الرحيم

Margin
ضرب هذا الدينار بالأندلس سنة اثنتين ومئة

8

Obverse
لا إله إ - \ لا الله \ وحده

Margin
محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهُدى ودين الحق (Q 9:33)

Reverse
بسم الله \ الرحمن \ الرحيم

Margin
ضرب هذا الدينار بالأندلس سنة اثنتين ومئة

11

Obverse
لا إله إلا \ الله وحده \ لا شريك له (Q 6:163)

Margin
بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالأندلس سنة ست عشرة ومئة

Reverse
الله أَحَدٌ الله \ الصَّمَدُ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَ \ لَمْ يُولَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُن \ لَّهُ كُفُواً أَحَدٌ (Q 112)

Margin
محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون (Q 9:33)

12

Obverse
لا إله إلا \ الله وحده \ لا شريك له (Q 6:163)

Margin
بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالأندلس سنة سبعين ومئة

Reverse
الله أحد الله \ الصمد لم يلد و \ لم يولد ولم يكن \ له كفوا أحد (Q 112)

Margin
محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون (Q 9:33)

25

Obverse — لا إله إلا الله \ محمد رسول الله \ الامير يوسف بن \ تاشفين

Margin — ومن يبتغ غير الإسلام دينا فلن يقبل منه وهو فى الآخرة من الخاسرين آمين (Q 3:85)

Reverse — الامام \ عبد \ الله \ امير المؤمنين

Margin — بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بسنلوكة سنة إحدى وتسعين وأربع

26

Obverse — لا إله الا الله \ محمد رسول الله \ امير المسلمين على \ ابن يوسف

Margin — ومن يبتغ غير الإسلام دينا فلن يقبل منه وهو فى الآخرة من الخاسرين (Q 3:85)

Reverse — الامام \ عبد \ الله \ امير المؤمنين

Margin — بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينار ببلنسية سنة أربع وخمسم (ئة)

27

Obverse — لا إله إلا الله \ محمد رسول الله صلى \ الله عليه وسلم تسليما \ امير المسلمين علي ولى \ عهده الامير تا- \ شفين

Margin — ومن يبتغ غير الإسلام دينا فلن يقبل منه وهو فى الآخرة من الخاسرين (Q 3:85)

Reverse — الامام \ عبد \ الله \ امير المؤمنين \ العباسى \ على

Margin — بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب بإشبيلية عام (ستّة damaged) وثلاثين وخمس مائة

30

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى \ الله على محمد وآله وسلم تسليم. يايها \ الناس ان وعد الله \ حق فلا تغرنكم الحياة \ الدنيا ولا يغرنكم بالله \ الغرور هاذا قبر ابو \ عمرو عثمن بن \ محمد بن بقى الشامى \ توفى يوم الثلاثة في العشر (sic) \ الاخير من شهر ذى الحجة \ من سنة خمس وعشرين و \ خمس مائة وهو يشهد الا (sic) \ إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك \ له وان محمد عبده ورسو- \ له ارسله بالهدى ودين \ الحق ليظهره على الدين \ كله ولو كره المشركون (Q 9:33) على هذه الشهادة قبضت وعليها تبعث حية بعد الموت فرحم الله عبدًا تر- \ حام (تراحم ,sic) عليه في قره (قبره ,sic) فهى كاس كل نفس ذ- \ ائقها (sic) واليها مرجعها جعلنا الله منها على عذر وجمعنا مع محمد.

31

Obverse — لا إله إلا \ الله محمد \ رسول الله

Margin — بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم \ صلى الله على محمد \ وآله الطيبين \ الطاهرين

Reverse — مدينة \ المهدي إمام \ الامه القائم \ بأمر الله \ اشبيلية

Margin — ابومحمد عبد \ المؤمن بن على \ امير المؤمنين \ الحمد لله رب العالمين (Q 1:2)

18

(رمل)

منظرى أحسنُ منظرْ — نَهْدُ خَوْدٍ لم يكسّرْ

خَلَعَ (ا) لحْسْنُ علىّ — حُلَّةً نَرْها بجوهَرْ

فأنا ظرفٌ لمسْكٍ — ولكافور وعَنْبَرْ

خلف

19

بسم الله بركة كاملة \ ومواهب شافعه وآلاء متتابعه وسعادة ظاهره وسلا(مة) \ (با)هره وعافية باقيه وعصمة ناقيه واستقامة ثابتة وعزّ عاص(م) \ (و)سلطان غالب وفتح قريب ونصر عزيز وظفر بالاعداء وبقاء وتأييد و(...)به لصاحبه طال عمره

20

Obverse — لا إله إلا \ الله وحده \ لا شريك له (Q 6:163) \ ولي العهد

Margin — بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالاندلس سنة اثنتي عشرة واربع

Reverse — الامام القاسم \ المأمون (sic) \ امير المؤمنين \ حسن

Margin — محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره (Q 9:33)

21

Obverse — الحاجب \ لا إله إلا الله \ محمد رسول الله \ سراج الدولة

Margin — بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بمدينة إشبيلية سنة خمس وستين وأ (ربعمئة missing)

Reverse — المعتمد على الله \ الامام عبد الله \ امير المؤمنين \ المؤيد بنصر الله

Margin — محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله (Q 9:33)

22

Obverse — القا- \ لا إله إلا \ الله وحده \ لا شريك له \ -سم

Reverse — ولى العهد \ الامام يحيى \ المعتلى بالله \ امير المؤمنين \ ادريس

23

Obverse — القا- \ لا إله إلا \ الله وحده \ لا شريك له \ -سم

Reverse — ولى العهد \ الامام يحيى \ المعتلى بالله \ امير المؤمنين \ ادريس

24

Obverse — القا- \ لا إله إلا \ الله وحده \ لا شريك له \ -سم

Reverse — ولى العهد \ الامام يحيى \ المعتلى بالله \ امير المؤمنين \ ادريس

Margin — RAIMVNDVS COMES (A, V, M, S inverted)

46

Central band (مجتاث او رمل)

أيّهَا النّاظرُ الّذى زانَهُ رائقُ الدارِ
أنظرْ اليْومَ صورتي وتأمّلْ ترَ خَيري
فكأني من فِضّة ولِباسِي من الزهْرِ
سعْدِي بيَدَي الّذيَ نَالَ مُلْكِي بِمظَلّة

In the deer العافية

In the roundels العافية or العافيا

47

Obverse يَاَيُّهَا الّذينَ \ ءَامَنُوا اصبرُوا \ وَصَابِرُوا وَرَابطُوا \ وَاتَّقُوا الله \ لَعَلّكُم تُفْلِحُونَ (Q 3:200)

Margin طبع \ بمدينة \ غرناطة \ حرسها الله

Reverse الامير عبد الله \ الغني بالله محمد \ ابن يوسف بن \ اسماعيل بن نصر \ اعانه الله ونصره

Margin لا غالب إلا الله\ لا غالب إلا الله \ لا غالب إلا الله \لا غالب إلا الله

48

Obverse يأيّها الذين \ ءامنوا اصبروا \ وصابروا ورابطوا \ واتقوا الله \ لعلكم تفلحون (Q 3:200)

Margin طبع \ بمدينة \ غرناطة \ حرسها الله

Reverse عبد الله الغالب \ بالله محمد بن ابي \ الجيوش نصر بن محمد\ ابن يوسف بن إسماعيل \ ابن نصر أيده الله ونصره

Margin لا غالب إلا الله \لا غالب إلا الله \ لا غالب إلا الله \لا غالب إلا الله

51

Obverse لا إله إلا \ الله محمد \ رسول الله

Reverse ولا غالب \ إلا الله تع (تعالى) \ غرناطة

32

Obverse بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم \ لا إله إلا \ الله محمد \ رسول الله \ المهدي إمام الامه \ اشبيلية

Margin وإلهكم \ إله واحد \ لا إله إلا هو \ الرحمن الرحيم

Reverse القائم \ بأمر الله \ الخليفة ابو محمد \ عبد المؤمن بن على \ امير المؤمنين

Margin امير المؤمنين \ ابو يعقوب \ يوسف بن \ امير المؤمنين

33

Obverse لا إله إلا الله \ الأمر كله لله \ لا قوة إلا بالله \ قرطبة

Reverse الله ربنا \ محمد رسولنا \ المهدي إمامنا

34

Obverse الإمام البيعة \ المسيحية بابه \ ALF

Margin بسم الاب والابن والروح القدوس الإله الواحد من آمن و (ا) عتمد يكن سالما

Reverse أمير \ القتولقين \ الفنش بن سنجه \ أيده الله \ ونصره

Margin ضرب هذا الدينار بطليطلة عام احد وخمسين ومائتين وألف ايرة الصفر

37

اليُمْن

38

Signature صنعه محمد بن السهلي سنة تفج (483\1090-1091) ببلنسية

42

In mirrored, plaited Kufic والغبْطة

In red cartouches اليُمْن والاقبال

In white cartouches العزّ الدائم

43

اليُمْن الدائم العزّ القائم

45

العافية \ العافية \ العافية


BAY OF BISCAY
FRANCE
Rhone River
Toulouse
Narbonne
ANDORRA
Santiago de Compostela
León
Pamplona
Ebro River
Zaragoza
Barcelona
Zamora
Duero River
Oporto
Medinaceli
Salamanca
Madrid
Guadalajara
Tortosa
Coimbra
Cuenca
Toledo
Tagus River
BALEARIC ISLANDS
MENORCA
Zallaka
SPAIN
Manises
Valencia
MALLORCA
Lisbon
Mérida
Guadiana River
Alarcos
Denia
IBIZA
Badajóz
Belacázar
Las Navas de Tolosa
Letur
Alicante
PORTUGAL
Córdoba
Madinat al Zahra'
Jaén
Murcia
SEA
Seville
Guadalquivir River
Lorca
Silves
Granada
MEDITERRANEAN
Almería
Sanlúcar de Barrameda
Málaga
Cádiz
Algeciras
Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Tlemcen
Rabat
Fez
ALGERIA
MOROCCO
Marrakech
Aghmat
Tinmal
Sijilmassa
0
100
200
MILES

NOTES

CONTEMPLATE MY BEAUTY

1. María Rosa Menocal's *The Ornament of the World. How Muslims, Jews and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* is a recent example of this idealizing tendency. That its reviewers understand that its arguments might provide a model for contemporary political and social ills is synthesized by the *Kirkus Review* in the inside cover pages, "A resonant and timely case of a time when followers of the three monotheisms set aside their differences and tried to get along."
2. A recent example of this line of discourse is Oriana Fallaci's comments addressed to John Paul II after the tragedy of September 11, 2001, in her recent polemical work *The Rage and the Pride*, pp.81–82, "Tell me Holy Father: is it true that some time ago you asked the sons of Allah to forgive the Crusades that Your predecessors fought to take back the Holy Sepulchre? But did the sons of Allah ever ask you to be forgiven for having taken the Holy Sepulchre? Did they ever apologize for having subjugated over seven centuries the super-Catholic Iberian peninsula, the whole Portugal [*sic*] and three quarters of Spain, so that if Isabella of Castile and Ferdinando of Aragon had not chased them out in 1490 [*sic*] we would all speak Arabic?"
3. Translation after Pérès 1983, p.122.
4. Robinson 1998, pp.23–24. Translation Robinson.
5. Nykl 1946, p.231. Translation Nykl.
6. Translation adapted from ibid., pp.337–39 and Monroe 1974, pp.332–34.
7. Robinson 2002, pp.59–61.
8. Other kinds of objects also contain this kind of autonomous inscription. See, in Ocaña Jiménez 1941, an Almoravid marble basin in Córdoba, and in Dodds 1992, p.353, no.109, a rather humble earthenware jug from thirteenth-century Valencia.
9. For a fuller discussion of this poem see Robinson 2002, pp.198–202. Translation, Robinson.
10. See also Ruiz Souza 2001, pp.87–88, for a discussion of similar autonomous inscriptions at the Marinid *madrasa* at Salé from around 1342.
11. García Gómez 1985, pp.124–27.
12. Ibid., pp.121–22.
13. See also in this regard Dodds 1992, pp.266–67, no.52, an ivory pyxis from the Nasrid period with an autonomous inscription.
14. Primera Crónica 1977, vol.2, pp.729, 733, cap.1046, p.734, cap.1047.
15. Ibid., vol.2, p.746, cap.1070.
16. Ibid., vol.2, pp.768–69, cap.1128.
17. Ecker 2003, pp.128–29.
18. Ibid., pp.130.
19. Most of the converted in Toledo remain anonymous and it is impossible to account for their numbers; one well-known figure was the ascetic, Abu l-Qasim b. al-Khayyat, who occasionally worked in the chancellery of Alfonso VI; another was Zaida, the widowed daughter-in-law of Muhammad II al-Mu'tamid, the taifa rulet of Seville, who married Alfonso VI. See Kassis 1990, pp.98–99 and Lévi-Provençal 1934. Rubiera Mata and Marín have suggested that it was not difficult for Christian converts to integrate into the Mozarabic community (Arabized Christians) of Toledo, which was culturally similar: Marín 1995, pp.45–46; Rubiera Mata 1989, pp.346–47.
20. Conversion to Christianity among the Mudéjars of Toledo may have been a slow process of attrition continuing until the fifteenth century. Julio Porres cited the case of a wealthy Mudéjar, Doña Fátima, servant to Enrique II and his queen, Doña Juana, at the end of the fourteenth century, who was buried in the Mudéjar cemetery outside the walls of Toledo: "Her daughters not only became Christians, but also nuns." Porres Martín-Cleto 1983, p.417.
21. Lagardère 1988; Serrano 1991.
22. Alfonso 1998, pp.417–18.
23. González Arce 1989, pp.122–23; Ecket 2000b, pp.829–30.
24. Juana inherited the throne of Castile after the death of her mother, Isabel I, in 1504.
25. HSA, B1693. There are some depictions and descriptions of Morisco dress; perhaps the most accessible is in Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, pt.1, chap.37.
26. por que donde aqui a delante no oviese mas memoria / de las cosas de los moros y estovyesen et bivyesen como cristanos viejos…
27. Garrad 1954.
28. Brothets 1994, p.83.
29. Al-Hajari 1997, Arabic text p.146, English translation pp.200–1.
30. *De cómo y por qué el rey don Felipe III expelió á los Moriscos de España, y de la Pena que les causó este destierro* (About how and why King Philip III expelled the Moriscos from Spain, and of the sorrow that this exile caused them). Anonymous 1945, vol.2, pp.190–92.
31. On this point, see the work of F. Marquéz-Villanueva.
32. The meaning of the difficult phrase "duelos y quebrantos," that appeared for the first time in Spanish literature in *Don Quixote*, is much debated by Cervantistas. Here, I follow the argument of Américo Castro and Juan Goytisolo who both understood its *double entendre*. Goytisolo traces its origins to a verse popular in the sixteenth century penned by the fifteenth-century *converso* poet Antón de Montoro, known as El Ropero, in his *Cancionero de obras provocantes a risa*: El Ropero tells the magistrate of Córdoba that when he did not find anything at the butcher's but pork fat, he had to buy it, explaining, "One of the true servants of our mighty lord the king, has given the butchers a reason to make me perjure myself: not finding for my *duelos* (pains), with what to kill my hunger, they made me *quebrantar* (break), the oath of my grandparents." Goytisolo 1998.
33. "Sidi" is an honorific title often given to deceased Muslim saints.
34. Narváez 1981, p.150.
35. She recounted her great distress when she saw a shophand (*sukero*) in the library willfully tearing apart a book that must have been a copy of the Qur'an (*el alto alquiteb alarxical*), which she sadly gathered up from the floor. Narváez 1981, p.147. The destruction of Arabic books, not only the Qur'an, after the conquest is a topos in the catalogue of horrors experienced by the Muslims of Spain after the fall of Granada, but here, the recounting of the Mancebo is poignant not only because of the Mora's distress as a Muslim, but also as a royal librarian—the humiliation was not political, but rather a brutal attack by an unlettered thug.
36. Ibid., pp.147–48.
37. Ibid., p.148.
38. Ibid., p.151 and n44, pp.160–61.
39. Harvey 1992, p.426. While Arabic languished as a subject of institutional study in baroque Spain, it was established as a subject of regular study elsewhere, for example at Oxford, where a number of Andalusi manuscripts were acquired in the seventeenth century. This, perhaps, marks the shift of the construction of the history of al-Andalus exterior to the peninsula.
40. See Ecker 2002 for a synopsis of the events and bibliography.
41. See ibid.
42. Ecker 2002, p.363; Lléo Cañal 1979, p.11; Münzer 1991, p.155. Münzer cheerfully describes Seville's cathedral as a mosque, explaining that the courtyard had belonged to the former mosque; however, he omits any description of its minaret.
43. Cabanelas Rodríguez 1992, p.132. These repairs were to be paid for by "fines collected by the Cámara and Fisco of Granada"—those fines were generally the property and income of victims of the Inquisition who were forced to forfeit their estates upon arrest.
44. Rodríguez Ruiz 1992, p.35.
45. On Conde, see Monroe 1970, pp.50–65.
46. Laborde 1806–20; Murphy 1815; Jones and Goury 1842–45.
47. Alfonso 2000, p.1.
48. Buceta 1923, p.8.
49. Ibid. 1923, p.4.
50. Saglia 1999, p.53.
51. Harvey 1992, pp.430–31.
52. Irving 1849, p.93.

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